The Foes of the French Revolution

Hermann Lieb

1895

To Maj. David Cornwell
with compliments
of the author
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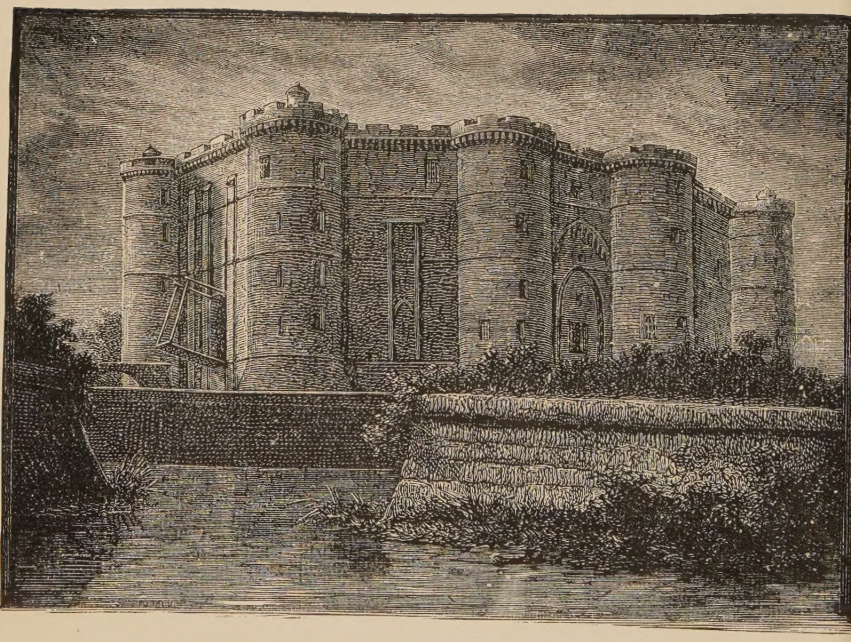

THE BASTILE.

THE FOES

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

CENTRALIZATION AND ANARCHY

BY

HERMANN LIEB

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE,"
"THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF," ETC.

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PREFACE.

My motives in writing this volume were threefold: First, this being the centennial year of the French Revolution, a short review of its causes, its course, and its results, appear to me to be desired by a class of readers who have neither the time nor the opportunity to make an extended study of this event.

Second, in this age of research, the most valuable concern of history is not so much the facts and dates as the motives which impelled its principal actors.

Such being the case, I have not presumed to write a history of the French Revolution, but have endeavored to show its legitimacy and point out some of the causes of its partial miscarriage.

My third and principal motive, however, was a sincere desire to strengthen, by way of comparison, the faith of the American youth in the system of free and independent States, as the only system capable of resisting all attacks against the integrity of a republic from without and within.

During the last hundred years, France has experienced many violent changes; but one only has risen to the magnitude of a revolution, if by this term a complete political, social, and economic transformation is meant—such was the tremendous upheaval of 1789.

In the extent of its influence upon the destinies of France and upon the advancement of Continental Europe, the French Revolution forms the second grand epoch in the history of human progress, and its effect upon the material well-being of mankind was as beneficial as was the Reformation upon their moral and intellectual condi-

tion; to freedom of thought the Revolution added freedom of action.

Few writers of prominence, other than French, have treated this great event with absolute candor and impartiality, and it has required almost a century even to partially obliterate the impression made upon the English-speaking public by the passionate tirades of the able but prejudiced Edmund Burke.

Some writers, with the evident purpose of warping public sentiment, have sought to convey the idea that the "Reign of Terror," 1793–1794, was the logical and necessary consequence of the popular movement of 1789; others, influenced by predilections for a given form of government, have ignored causes and exaggerated facts; others, again, assert, and their theory has been accepted by many as conclusive, that the philosophers of the 18th century were the principal cause; others still, have fixed certain periods when the revolutionary movement began, and others have even ventured to state when the Revolution was born.

French writers, those generally with the prefix De, as De Maister and De Saint Martin, contend that the Reign of Terror was an expiation for the execution of the king. On the other hand revolutionary fanaticism manifestsitself in socialistic writings such as Louis Blanc's, who would raise a Pantheon to the memory of Jacobinism, which, as he expresses it, "alone represents the Revolution in its purity, its truth and its ideal." And last, but not least, we have our ecclesiastical historians who picture events in the light of religious dogmatism. These claim that irreligion transplanted from England to the soil of faithful France, brought about the Revolution.

Such conflicting opinions regarding the causes of the catastrophe necessarily obscure individual judgment. Every candid observer, however, must come to the conclu-

sion that the French Revolution was not brought about by irreligion, nor mainly by the philosophers, or in fact by any other external agency; that the exact time or even the period of its beginning can not be conjectured; but that it was the slow, almost imperceptible but steady, process of the inexorable law of evolution, which impels humanity with unfailing precision toward a better condition, and that the crash which came was but a manifestation of this law.

The French people are often charged with frivolity and fickleness of character, and that, consequently, there might not have been sufficient cause to justify the overturn.

A search for the causes in the economic rather than in the political conditions of a people must govern the seeker for truth. The most essential thing in society to know, are the small details of a man's social life; the every-day well-being, the hardships and vicissitudes of the laboring poor. The stomach of the man and of his family—their daily wants and surroundings—are of more importance to them than abstract principles or political theories. The application of this rule to the case of France previous to 1789 will readily convince the most conservative that her people had abundant reasons for revolting.

The other charge, repeatedly made against the French people, that they were incapable of self-government, is disproved by the fact that centuries before the Revolution they satisfactorily managed their own local affairs, and it has been my endeavor to show, that the partial failure of their efforts was due to the persistent refusal of a few self-constituted managers to intrust them with all the duties and responsibilities pertaining to the sovereignty of a people, rather than to their individual or collective deficiencies.

HERMANN LIEB.

CHICAGO, July 14th, 1889.

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THE FOES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,

CENTRALIZATION AND ANARCHY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANCIENT REGIME.

"I look back for a moment," says De Tocqueville, "on the situation of France seven hundred years ago, when the territory was divided amongst a small number of families who were the owners of the soil and the rulers of the inhabitants. The right of governing descended with the family inheritance from generation to generation. Force was the only means by which man could act on man, and landed property was the sole source of power. Soon, however, the political power of the clergy was formed and began to increase. The clergy opened their ranks to all classes, to the poor and the rich, the vassal and the lord. Through the church equality penetrated into the Government, and he who, as a serf, must have vegetated in perpetual bondage, took his place as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not infrequently above the heads of kings.

The different relations of men with each other became more complicated and numerous as society became more stable and civilized, hence the want of civil law was felt, and the ministers of the law soon rose from the obscurity of the tribunals to appear at the court of their monarch by the side of the feudal barons.

While the kings were ruining themselves by their

great enterprises, and the nobles exhausting their resources by private wars, the lower orders were enriching themselves by commerce. The influence of money began to be perceptible in State affairs. The transaction of business opened a new road to power, and the financier rose to a station of political influence in which he was at once *flattered and despised.*

Gradually the diffusion of intelligence and the increasing taste for literature and art caused learning and talent to become a means of government; mental ability led to social power, and the man of letters took part in the affairs of State.

The value attached to high birth declined just as fast as new avenues to power were discovered. In the eleventh century nobility was beyond all price; in the thirteenth it could be purchased. Nobility was first conferred by gift in 1270, and equality was thus introduced into the Government by the aristocracy itself.

In the course of these seven hundred years it sometimes happened that the nobles, in order to resist the authority of the Crown, or to diminish the power of their rivals, granted some political influence to the common people. Or, more frequently, the King permitted the lower orders to have a share in the Government with the intention of depressing the aristocracy."

Of these lower orders, however, consisting on the one hand of the merchants and professional men of cities and towns, and on the other of the peasants, the former were almost the exclusive beneficiaries of such royal or seignorial concessions; so that as far as the numerous class of agriculturists were concerned, their condition as late as the eighteenth century was not materially improved. It may then be said that just previous to the Revolution, France presented the picture of a State, which, apparently had adopted some of the progressive forms of the more

LOUIS XVI.

enlightened countries and slightly modified the ancient regime, yet, contained all the repulsive features of feudality. Her state recognized, in fact, only three political factors—the king, the nobility and the higher clergy. With the exception of a comparatively small number of burghers, whose wealth, superior intelligence and literary attainments compelled respectful recognition, and who, under the designation of "Third Estate," as early as 1314, acquired a small share of political influence in the State, the great mass of her people had no voice in the administration of public affairs. In the absence of legal or traditional restrictions, however, little impediment met the upward tendency of the common people; consequently, the equalizing process between them and the bourgeois class was in constant operation, and as in the quarrels of cities and towns against the encroachments of the nobility, the peasant generally sided with the burghers, this equalizing process was accelerated by a mutuality of interests. The early history of France is almost a constant struggle between the landed aristocracy and the burghers of cities, and of revolts of the former against royal authority. Under the system of seignorial independence, the French monarchy was a mere shadow; to gain substance it had to consolidate the parts. It was centralization or death.

It was only by slow degrees, however, that royalty finally succeeded in emancipating itself from its quasi-dependency upon the landed aristocracy, and the almost sovereign knighthood of the middle ages. This was accomplished by an alliance with the Catholic hierarchy and the burghers of cities. By this means the Crown gradually succeeded in neutralizing the power of the great vassals, and in drawing them to its support. The burghers, however, were excluded from the new partnership. The abuses of feudality which oppressed the rural population survived the political destruction of the system.

From the 13th to the 18th century the process of political centralization continued. The wars with England, and the unsettled state of the country presented to Charles the VII.—between 1439 and 1445—the opportunity of obtaining from his parliaments the sanction for the first standing army in Europe, and, at the same time, the permission to raise a tax for its support, this tax to be collected by officers of the crown. The establishment of a fiscal machinery covering the whole country enabled the King to drive the first wedge into the old system.

To fully appreciate the far-reaching influence of this immense machinery of the central administration, it is only necessary, in imagination, to transplant the extensive and all-powerful revenue machinery of the United States, with its collectors, its courts, and its unnumbered marshals to inforce its decree, upon the soil of the quasi-political independent seignories or provinces of ancient France. The Crown was thus possessed of a well organized body of agents, distributed in all parts of the kingdom, absolutely independent of the landed aristocracy, and subject only to the orders of the central power. Louis XI., son and successor of Charles VII., used these new prerogatives with crushing effect, bringing the recalcitrant feudal aristocracy under control by causing a number of them to pass under the ax of the executioner.

These innovations and centralizing methods were received by the burghers of cities and the peasants in the light of divine interposition. They believed themselves relieved from an unbearable system of spoliation, and, at the same time, felt assured that a consolidated power would be able to resist any further encroachment of their hereditary English foe upon French territory.

From this period the monarchy of France was able to stand upon its own feet; but being uncontrolled it soon passed into a state of absolutism. The Crown had given

security to the towns and cities, but had taken away their communal independence; the peasantry had exchanged two masters for three.

Francis I., having obtained from the Pope the privilege of participating in the appointment of the Roman Catholic Clergy in his realm, this influential body became subservient to his wishes. He surrounded his throne with the influences of Italian culture, and all the allurements of modern court etiquette. Still, he never lost sight of the warlike state of Europe, and exerted every effort in his power to incite the pride, patriotism and love of glory of his subjects, that they might be prepared for the impending struggle between himself and Emperor Charles V. of Germany.

With this object in view, he gradually drew the nobility from the seclusion of their castles into the circle of his brilliant court. Under his reign and his successors, the revenues were increased and the army brought to a high state of efficiency; so that when the religious wars were over there was no power in France able to cope with the royal authority.

Sometimes a schism occurred, 'tis true, between the members of the reigning family, which opportunity was seized by the nobility to repossess themselves of their former state of independence; but the energetic manner with which Richelieu and Mazarin crushed the last efforts of the Fronde, forever extinguished seigniorial independence in France.

CHAPTER II.

LOUIS XIV. AND HIS ECONOMIC POLICY.

This King not only destroyed the last vestige of aristocratic power, he annihilated the last vestige of commercial liberty, the prerogatives of Provincial Parliaments and of the States General; all was obliterated in the interest of the Crown. He considered himself the source of all power and all right in the State. Having read in the Old Testament what was said of the Omnipotence and the heavenly origin of Monarchy, he was convinced that God, who had placed kings over mankind, had also vouchsafed to them unquestionable control over their subjects. He promulgated laws, raised revenues, and changed their charters at pleasure. His ministers were mere clerks, whose only duty it was to work out the details of his policy and formulate his decrees. M. Colbert, an able man, who for nearly a quarter of a century had been his prime minister, may be said to have organized and regenerated the civil administration of his kingdom. Unfortunately for the country as well as for the king, whose paternalistic propensities were thus sustained, Colbert was an adherent of that mistaken governmental theory, "that the prosperity and progress of a people can best be promoted by a system of commercial isolation and restriction."

The magnificence of Louis XIV.'s court gratified the pride of the French, while the many brilliant victories of Turenne, Luxembourg and others gratified their love of glory; that despot, to this day, is proudly referred to by his countrymen, as "*Ludovico Magna!*"

He was a great king, considered from the stand-point in which royal greatness was viewed in those days. He was great in persecuting the Huguenots at home, while encouraging the Protestants in Germany, to further his ends; he was great in overawing his neighbors, while he appropriated large portions of their territory; he was great in the erection of costly and magnificent palaces and monuments, those at Versailles costing, it is estimated, $200,000,000. And he, unquestionably, surpassed in greatness all his predecessors in the way in which he divided his political power with his mistresses.

It is, also, noted as an evidence of his greatness, that in the midst of the extravagances and festivities of his court, the excitement of the chase, the pleasures of theaters and of women, he never lost sight of the great interests of state, nor neglected to encourage literature, the arts and science.

When these efforts and their motives, however, are calmly considered, they are found generally to have been exerted in the wrong direction, and more with a view to strengthen his personal sway than to improve the condition of the people.

He encouraged literature when the authors sang his praises, but sternly suppressed it when his methods were adversely criticised. He was the incarnation of the principles of *state socialism*, with his Majesty as the director-in-chief. He encouraged great industries, but placed the most important under state control. Such a policy had the natural effect of discouraging the spirit of private enterprise in its incipiency, and in neutralizing the spontaneous energies of the people. The blighting effect of the principle, "*L'Etat c'est moi*," was not only felt in all the departments of public affairs, but in the business intercourse of the commercial and industrious classes. Colbert's efforts were in strict conformity with the patern-

alistic policy of his august Master. Great public works were undertaken. Some canals were dug; some country roads improved; but, while the land tenure, with all its oppressive features of feudalism remained undisturbed, great canals and splendid roads were of little avail to the mass of the people who suffered for want of bread and work. Immense private fortunes had been amassed, as a logical result of protecting the manufacturing few at the expense of the agricultural many. The effort is the same, almost invariably the same, whether applied, in a monarchy or in a republic; in old Europe or young America.

This immutable truth was recognized a hundred years ago by the great Adam Smith, when, in speaking of Minister Colbert and his economic system, he said: "M. Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV., was a man of probity, of great industry and knowledge of details; of great experience and acuteness in the examination of public accounts, and of abilities, in short, every way fitted for introducing method and good order in the collection and expenditures of the public revenue. But he had unfortunately embraced all the prejudices of the mercantile system of protection, in its nature and essence; a system of restraint and regulation, and such as would scarcely fail to be agreeable to a laborious and plodding class man of business, who had been accustomed to regulate the different departments of public affairs, and to establish the necessary checks and controls for confining each to its proper sphere. The industry and commerce of a great country he endeavored to regulate upon the same model as the departments of a public officer; *and instead of allowing every man to pursue his own interest in his own way upon the liberal plan of equality, liberty and justice, he bestowed vpon certain branches of industry extraordinary privileges, while he laid others under as extraordinary*

SALUTING THE AMERICAN FLAG.

restraints. He was not only disposed, like other European ministers, to encourage more the industries of the towns than that of the country, but, in order to support the industry of the towns he was willing even *to depress and keep down that of the country.* In order to render provisions cheap to the inhabitants of the towns, and thereby to encourage manufactures and foreign commerce, he prohibited altogether the exportation of grain, and thus excluded the inhabitants of the country from every foreign market, by far, the most important part of the produce of their industry.

This prohibition, joined to the restraint imposed by the ancient provincial laws of France, upon the transportation of grain from one province to another, and to the arbitrary and degrading taxes which were levied upon the cultivators in almost all the provinces, discouraged and kept down the agriculture of the country very much below the state to which it would naturally have risen in so very fertile and so very happy a climate. This state of discouragement and depression was felt more or less in every different part of the country, and many different inquiries were set on foot concerning the causes of it. One of those causes appeared to be the preference given by the institutions of M. Colbert to the industry of the towns above that of the country. When an agricultural nation oppresses, either by high duties or by prohibition, the trade of foreign nations it necessarily hurts its own interest in two different ways. First, by raising the price of all foreign goods and of all sorts of manufactures, it necessarily lowers the value of the surplus produce of its own land, with which it purchases those foreign goods and manufactures. Secondly, by giving a sort of monopoly of the home-market to its own merchant, artificers and manufacturers, it raises the rate of mercantile and manufacturing profit, and consequently either draws from agri-

culture a part of the capital which had before been employed in it, or hinders from going to it a part of what would have otherwise been invested in it. This policy, therefore, discourages agriculture in two different ways; first, by lowering the real value of its produce, and thereby lowering the rates of its profits ; and, secondly, by raising the rate of profit in all other employments. Agriculture is then rendered less advantageous, and trade and manufacture more advantageous than it otherwise would be, and every man is tempted by his own interest to turn, as much as he can, both his capital and his industry from the former to the latter employment."

Thus, without a correct understanding of the subject, many writers speak of this period as one of unusual prosperity for France. There is much misleading generalization indulged in concerning the prosperity of a country. The accumulation of great wealth in the hands of the few and its lavish display is often confounded with the general prosperity of the country. The prosperity of a country does not manifest itself in the palaces of the opulent, but in the humble cottages of the masses. If the dwellers of modest homes are comfortably situated, if they have an abundance of work and labor is well remunerated, if the great body of the people are amply supplied with the necessaries of life, and first of all, if the tillers of the soil—the peasant in France, the farmer in America—are prosperous, then, and only then the term, "the general prosperity of a country," will have its true meaning.

Under the system of M. Colbert, that most important interest to a nation's prosperity, agriculture, was totally neglected, and manufacturers even languished for want of a foreign market. Instead of devising a system by which the outlet for French product might be enhanced, the demand for labor increased, and the necessaries of life cheapened, the policy of restriction and scarcity was

adopted. As overproduction and a surplus of labor follows the introduction of this policy with unfailing precision, the government soon found itself confronted with the dangers incident to these evils, and in order to relieve the overstocked labor market, the desperate colonization expedient to New France was resorted to. But the ancient feudal system being transferred to Canada with the emigrants, this expedient necessarily proved as ineffective as it was expensive. Thus, the entire economic system of Louis XIV. being opposed to all rational principles, the working people could never rise above the condition of poverty and unremitting toil, nor the wealth of France be permanently increased.

With all his shortcomings, however, Louis XIV. was endowed with many of the attributes which are necessary to the success of a great king, but the most essential of these qualities, "a heart in sympathy with the common people," he lacked. From his dazzling height his vision soared beyond the groveling masses at his feet; they were only the clay from which must rise the magnificent monument he presumed to rear to his own immortal glory.

The strength of retaining the consciousness of duty when uncontrolled and unrestricted is seldom given to mortal man. Louis XIV., who viewed his high office as a mystic gift "by the grace of God," and was enabled to crush all opposition to his supreme will with physical force, succumbed, as others had before him, to the temptation of disregarding all maxims of justice and right.

Thus, the close of the seventeenth century found the king's power, which seemed to be limitless abroad, lacking all the elements of permanency at home. His numerous wars had exhausted the finances, and the incomes had been steadily decreasing for nearly forty years. As early as 1693, Archbishop Fenelon addressed his famous letter to the King, in which he drew a frightful picture of the fam-

ished condition of France, and attacked the whole policy of his government.

These appeals had not the least effect upon the great monarch's course. Fenelon's criticism annoyed him, and when his "*Telemaque*" appeared, which was a biting satire upon Louis' reign, the presumptuous author was banished and his books seized by the police.

The exhaustive wars waged almost continuously toward the close of the 17th century, continued during the first thirteen years of the 18th, and when at last, in 1714, the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt were signed, France was shorn of most of the ground she had gained during Louis XIV.'s reign. In these later years the state of the rural population had grown from bad to worse. We are told by contemporaneous writers, that three-fourths of the people lived upon barley and oaten bread alone; and as for clothing, not one had a crown's worth upon his back. Owing to forced emigration to Canada, beggary and death, every seventh house was in ruins; one-sixth of the arable land was thrown out of cultivation, the remainder ill-farmed and covered with straggling woods, hedges, briars and brush. The highways of the country and the streets of the towns and burghs were filled with beggars, whom famine and nakedness had driven forth.

Half-starved skeletons clamored around the gates of Versailles, and Madame de Maintenon, herself, was mobbed by the crowd on entering her carriage. Food riots took place in many towns, and some of the royal troops revolted. The government credit was at its lowest ebb; still there was no retrenchment in the extravagant expenditures of the court. France had no constitution, and the slight barrier against the absolute will of the monarch were the parliaments—the judicial tribunals of the country—clothed with one prerogative, that of refusing to enter the royal decrees upon their registers, without which, such decrees

had no legal force. This slight obstacle, however, was easily overcome by arbitrary kings, as in case of refusal to register, a royal session, *lit de justice*, was called, at which the king appeared in person. At such sessions no objections were allowed to be raised, and no debate permitted. The King commanded the decree to be registered *par order du Roi*. To show his contempt for these parliamentary obstructionists Louis XIV. appeared at one of these sessions with horsewhip in hand.

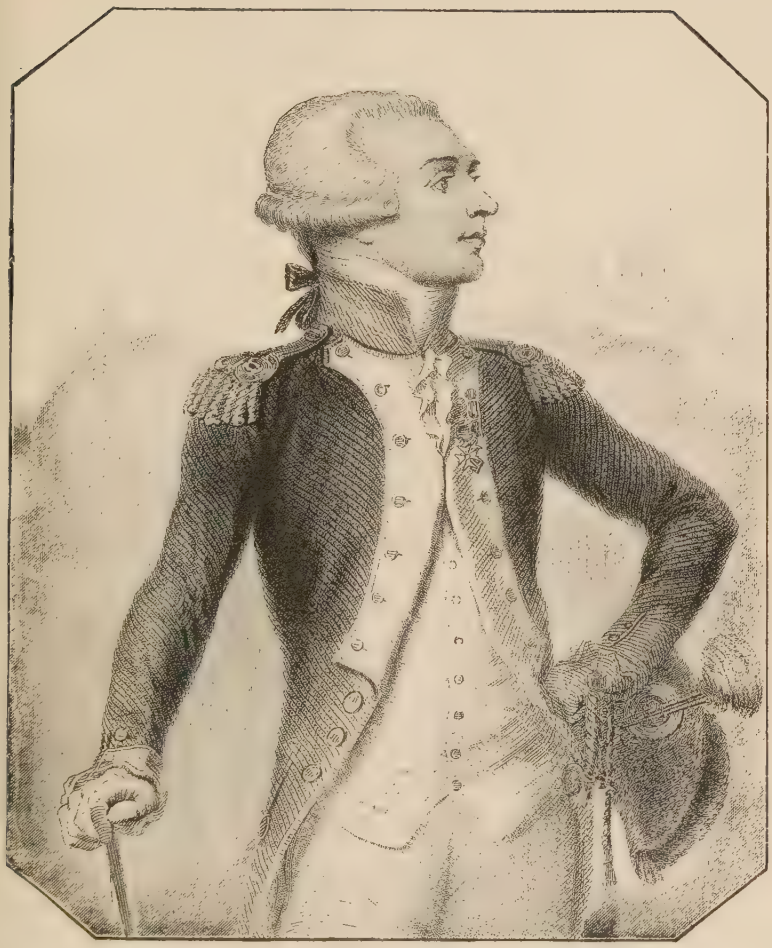
The death of Louis XIV., which occurred on the 1st of September, 1715, found no regrets in the hearts of his people. His last days were days of loneliness and neglect, and brought to him the realizing sense that his life, with all its magnificence and splendor, had been a failure; that his talents, his energies, his tremendous power and influence had been misdirected and misapplied, and that, while he himself had been a striking manifestation of the law of evolution, he had ignored this inexorable law in the affairs of his people; that, conscious of his power, he had never thought for an instant of awakening their political sentiments, or allowing them the smallest share in the administration of the country. Indeed, his last admonition to his great-grandson, afterwards Louis XV., then not quite six years of age, confirms this view: "My child," said he, "you are about to become a great king. But do not imitate me in my passion for building or my love of war. Endeavor, on the contrary, to live in peace with the neighboring nations, and strive to lessen the burdens of your people, which I, alas, have been unable to do." Merely the same antiquated death-bed wisdom, death-bed admissions, and death-bed repentance. Nothing more.

CHAPTER III.

LOUIS XV. AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL AGE.

In his last will and testament, the Grand Monarch had designated the legitimatized son of one of his mistresses, and the Duke of Orleans, a dissolute speculator, to act as regents during the minority of his great-grandson. The Parliament of Paris, however, refused to sanction the first of this clause, and declared the Duke the sole legitimate regent. The rule of this Prince was distinguished by his personal immoralities, and by his shameless efforts to restore the ruined finances of the kingdom by sanctioning the scheme of the notorious John Law; a scheme which threw the country into worse confusion, bringing it to the verge of universal bankruptcy.

The people in the rural districts had long since been cured of their love and attachment to their patriarchal seigniors; the friendly relations which formerly existed between the peasant and his lord had been ruptured by the long absences of the latter from the family manor, in dancing attendance at court, or serving in the army, his estate in the meantime being left in the hands of an exacting intendant (agent). The higher clergy, which since the days of Charlemagne had owned one-fifth of all the lands, absolutely exempt from taxation, in consideration for which they were expected to care for the helpless and unfortunate, to take charge of the hospitals and other charitable institutions, had succeeded in shifting these responsibilities and duties upon the State. These representatives of the humble preacher of love and charity from Galilee now turned their eyes in another direction. Their



LAFAYETTE.

church had been metamorphosed into a powerful and wealthy institution, which they intended to hold, possess and defend against all comers. More important duties than disbursing small portions of their income—amounting to one hundred millions a year—among the destitute lambs of their flocks, demanded their attention. Their cardinals and bishops mingled with the noble courtiers at Versailles, and rivaled with them in attracting the eye and catching the ear of the King. The doors of the convents, built and endowed as asylums for the poor, were now closed to the naked and hungry.

Thus, naturally, the people had ceased to believe in the protecting care of the nobility, and in a like degree had lost faith in the purity and charity of the church. The charge, however, that they had become irreligious is not true. It was only the high dignitaries of the church, mostly recruited from the nobility, in whom they had lost confidence and respect.

Still, there was one hope left. It was the King. Their faith in the goodness and benevolence of their King remained unshaken. He was far away, but as soon as complaints could reach his ears, help would be forthcoming. The advent of Louis XV., in 1723, to the throne was, therefore, hailed by the people with childish delight. For twenty years they had suffered, yet still loving their King and hoping. They called him the *Bien aimé* (well beloved). Ten years more, and it is reported that their "well beloved" had been leading a dissolute life; that he maintained a seraglio at one of his hunting castles. The strange disappearance of pretty young women gave color to the rumor, and a bloody riot in Paris was the consequence. The royal *Bien aimé* had suddenly lost his prestige. The last of the people's idols had now been shattered by the idol himself. He hardly dared to pay a visit to his own capital, and for fear of meeting the gaze of his

indignant subjects, took a circuitous route in his journey from Versailles to Compiegne, which to this day is called "*Le Chemain de la Revolte.*" The "Best Beloved" had now become the "Best Hated" man in all France.

He had taxed the recources of the country to the utmost, not only to gratify the extravagances of his mistresses and the enormous expenses of his profligate court, but to defray the needs of his endless and needless wars, which terminated not only in the loss of nearly all France possessed in America, but in the humiliation of her national military renown. By tyrannical and imprudent acts, he introduced many of the abuses and elements of discord, which in time proved so disastrous to the welfare of France.

Personally, he gave the world an example of moral turpitude such as has only found a counterpart in the most depraved of the Roman Emperors. The details of his dissolute life and of his miserable death are too revolting to relate.

His base selfishness and complete moral demoralization is fully characterized by the expression, "*Apres moi le deluge,*" which, in plain language was an openly expressed hope, that the rotten governmental structure which he felt tottering under his feet might last as long as he did; this expression characterized his criminal indifference to the welfare of his subjects. Disgust for a throne which could thus be tarnished now pervaded the hearts of the people, and severed the last link in the chain, which until now had formed the connection between the privileged orders and the common people.

While all avenues of relief seemed now closed to the suffering masses, a fourth power, closely allied to the latter by daily intercourse and common interests, came rapidly to the front. It was the burghers of cities and towns, the same class which in the middle age had pro-

tested against the encroachments of the Feudal system, that finally compelled recognition as members of the Provincial Parliaments, and of the so-called "Third Estate" in the States General.

Under the absolutism of the Louis', this class had almost, if not entirely, ceased to be a political factor in the country; but its wealth and intelligence, nevertheless, exerted considerable social and political influence. It filled the civil and military administration with scholars and soldiers, and, in time, their membership in the Provincial Parliaments perceptibly increased. In the field of letters it was represented by such intellectual giants as Voltaire, who was the son of the treasurer of the Chamber of Accounts; by Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose father was a watchmaker, and Diderot, the collator of "*Dictionaire Encyclopédique,*" whose father was a cutler.

This class, with its great publicists to the front, now stood between the privileged orders and the common people. Diderot's Encyclopédie, which contained the writings of the *noblesse litteraire* of the 18th century, treated all social, religious or political questions boldly and comprehensively. It criticised with severity the immorality and profligacy of the higher orders, denounced ancient abuses, exposed official corruption and pointed out the miseries and hardships of the overtaxed people. It undoubtedly had the greatest influence in hastening the cataclysm which soon followed. Some of its writers were sent to the bastile, and the work itself was several times suppressed. As is always the case, these efforts to suppress the truth only render its defense still more formidable. It did more than any other instrumentality in preparing the bourgeois-class for the important role it was soon called upon to play in the great political drama. It formed, so to say, the headwaters of the stream of thought, which for some time had taken a revolutionary course.

The Church, that mighty authority of the middle age, had ceased to be united, and its infallibility was a thing of the past. The State and laws, science, art and literature had been monopolized by her, and everything outside of her sacred circle had been declared heretical. With defection within her own bosom, not only faith, but all human exertion, received a tremendous shock. The conviction soon became universal that mankind ought to reject all theories the worth of which did not rest upon reason and demonstrative proof. The middle age had rejected nature, and reared a social edifice upon blind faith in the supernatural. Now natural philosophy was seized upon as a new dispensation, and it soon began to dawn upon the minds of the people that while heaven's bliss was much to be desired, it could not have been the intention of an All-wise Providence to debar the majority of the people from participating in any of the terrestrial bounties of His creation; nor that His sacred laws had been amended in favor of a comparatively small number of nobles and ecclesiastics, who, in order to maintain these exclusive privileges, had formed a combination against the rest of the world. Louis XV. died May 10, 1774, a victim to his vices and debauchery.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION

When Louis XVI., grandson of his predecessor, ascended the throne, the whole social and political fabric of France was thoroughly worm-eaten and undermined. It is said of him, that he was well disposed, but that his weak and vacillating character defeated his good intentions. The queen, Marie Antoinette, of Austria, to whom he was married when a mere boy of sixteen, controlled his official actions. Her haughty disposition, and her early training among the surroundings of the most exclusive and aristocratic court of Europe, instinctively led her to oppose all innovations, such as the more enlightened age now seemed to demand. She therefore systematically thwarted the best intentions of the King towards reforming existing abuses. Her influence in the ministerial cabinet was almost absolute, and the minister who would not readily submit to her dictation, or whose policy crossed her own, had soon to make room for some more pliant instrument.

The one wise act of Louis XVI. was to charge M. Turgot, one of the most distinguished economists of the age, a pupil of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Quesnay, with the finances of the kingdom. This statesman went zealously at work to improve the financial condition of the country, by relieving labor at home of a part of its burdens, and freeing foreign trade from its vexatious restrictions. "There is only one course open for the re-establishment of the finances," said he to the King, "and that is by reducing the expenses below the receipts; sufficiently low to economize twenty millions per year. Your majesty

must fortify yourself against your generosity. Consider from whom the money you are distributing is taken. Compare the misery of those from whom you are compelled to exact taxes with those who are receiving your favors."

The King appeared to lend a willing ear to these opportune admonitions; the Parliament of Paris, which had always stood by ancient abuses, having been recalled by the King, against Turgot's advice, its stubborn resistance to his projects of reform, proved to be the first spark which kindled the fires of the Revolution.

The struggle between the Minister and Parliament began with the edict removing the restrictions on the grain trade, between the different sections of the country. The contest was bitter, but Turgot was victorious. The next step in the direction of reform were the edicts to abolish the system of monopoly in trade; further, the relinquishment of *corvee* (compulsory labor on public roads); the abolition of the guilds, the reduction of import duties on articles of daily consumption, etc., etc.

Turgot's advocacy of these reforms, however, which, in the main were intended to relieve the poorer and middle classes, were not only antagonized by the Paris Parliament, but by the nobility, the higher clergy, bankers, protected manufacturers, and most of the Provincial Parliaments. The agitation of these reforms was a menace to the old system of privileges, and consequently the privileged class made his downfall a common cause.

The weak Louis, who, in spite of his protestations, was never in sympathy with Turgot's policy, finally yielded to their demands, and that able statesman was cruelly requested to step aside—the only man who might have managed to avert the horrible cataclysm which fourteen years after engulfed them all.

After a short period, in which the financial affairs of the State again fell into confusion, M. Necker, a Geneva

DESMOULINS IN THE GARDEN OF THE PALAIS ROYAL.

banker, was called to assume charge of the finances. M. Necker was an able financier and a systematic accountant, but unable to map out a comprehensive system of reforms, or master the situation. He succeeded in temporarily relieving the Government's embarrassment with short loans, through his own credit and his popularity at the Paris Exchange. He inaugurated some salutary methods in his department, but never went to the root of the evil. He lacked the perceptive genius of Turgot, who had discovered the cancer and had the nerve to use the dissecting knife. He seemed to have exhausted his resources. In the midst of these financial perplexities, the cry for help was heard on the other side of the Atlantic. It was the cry of the American Colonists struggling for independence. "This event," says the American editor of Thiers' "French Revolution," startled France like a thunder-clap. Adieu now to all hope of escape from Revolution! The heather is on fire, and nothing can check the progress of the conflagration. Within the precinct of the palace, in the salons of fashion, and universally among the common people, nothing is talked of but the gallantry of the transatlantic patriots. Washington is a hero—Franklin is the philosopher of the day."

The daily press which had reproduced the "Declaration of Independence" and the succeeding hostilities, was eagerly read and discussed in all social circles. We are told by contemporaneous writers, that the Americans were the objects of boundless eulogiums; that their cause was defended by the most forcible arguments, and that it would be difficult to describe the excessive joy, the vast hopes that were excited by the news of the convocation of the first American Congress, the members of which were extolled to the skies. The papers were filled with such expressions as these: "Let them establish liberty in their country, and let them serve as a perpetual example,

that princes may not, without peril, violate the fundamental laws of their States, or attack with impunity the privileges and immunities of their subjects." The capture of Burgoyne in 1777 was received in Paris with unbounded enthusiasm. The people, the members of the cabinet, Necker excepted, all favored an open declaration in aid of struggling America, and the King's reluctance to a rupture with England being finally overcome, the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the United States was determined upon. This step implied war with Great Britain, and the war came with its immense sacrifices in life and treasure. What the representations of Benjamin Franklin and Mr. Dean, the American commissioners, could never have brought about, was accomplished by the pressure of warm-hearted, liberty-loving and generous Frenchmen.

France had at that time no cause of complaint against England, and as M. Necker, the astute minister of finance, very pointedly stated to the King, in explanation of his opposition to this step: "That while he certainly wished every success to the noble cause of the American Colonists, he felt on the one hand that war ought never to be declared without real necessity, and, on the other, that no possible concurrence of political results could counterbalance, to France, the loss she would sustain, or the advantages she might derive, with the capital wasted in this contest."

It has been charged that France threw herself into this war with England to gratify a feeling of revenge, and in the hope of regaining her lost possessions in Canada.

It is more than probable that her sentiment of love for America was slightly tinged with that of hate for England; but if hopes were entertained of retrieving French losses in the New World by the aid of the American Colonists, these hopes were based upon a tottering foun-

dation. The war news received from America was certainly not of the sort to encourage such hopes, and far from being in a condition of seconding France in such a venture, if reliance can be placed in the statement of an eminent American, the condition of the colonists was all but hopeless at this very time.

Marshall's Life of Washington, says :

" When the destinies of America were tottering on the brink of destruction, the representations in France relative to the state of American affairs were most deplorable and sufficient to repress the most determined zeal. The army of Washington was represented as a mere rabble, flying before thirty thousand British regulars. Nor was this far from reality. The rout and carnage of Brooklyn and the subsequent evacuation of Long Island, had given a gloomy aspect to the affairs of America. The evacuation and capture of New York greatly dispirited the American troops, and almost drove them to despair. The militia were impatient to return home, and almost totally disobedient to orders, deserting by half and even by whole regiments. The battle of White Plains ; the surrender of Fort Washington ; the evacuation of Fort Lee ; the gradual dissolution of the American army ; the ineffectual attempts to raise the militia; the indisposition of the inhabitants to further resistance ; the retreat of General Washington through New Jersey at the head of less than three thousand men, badly armed and clad, dispirited by losses and fatigue, retreating almost barefoot in the cold of November and December, before a numerous, well-appointed and victorious army through a desponding, country ; the immense numbers that daily flocked to the British standard for the purpose of making their peace and obtaining protection ; the universal idea that the contest was approaching its termination, greatly supported by the contrast between the splendid appearance of the

pursuing army and that made by the ragged Americans who were fleeing before them, destitute of almost every necessity — all these causes contributed, in Europe, almost to extinguish the hope of a successful issue to the struggles of America."

Such was the condition of the American cause, when, notwithstanding these discouraging reports, France threw her sword and her treasure into the fast-sinking scale. The cost of this error to France has been computed at one thousand four hundred million francs.

It was all loss to France ; it all enured to the benefit of the United States. The extraordinary expenditure consequent upon this war, notwithstanding, Necker had succeeded in reducing the annual expenditures ten million francs below the receipts in less than five years. In 1781 he published his *Compte Rendu au Roi sur les Finances de l'Etat,* an exposure which aroused the enmity of the courtiers, whose pensions and privileges had been abridged, and displeased the prime minister, Maurepas. Necker, desiring to vindicate his measures before the King, insisted upon a seat in the royal cabinet, from which he had been excluded on account of his religious persuasion. His claim being disregarded, he sent in his resignation. Two years were now criminally wasted in fruitless experiments by inexperienced and obscure ministers, when the intellectual but frivolous Colonne was charged with the duty of bringing order out of chaos. He started out with the anomalistic theory, that to be able to borrow liberally one must spend munificently.

This was a man after the heart of the court. His policy was carried out with such exactness that in 1787, the public debt had increased four hundred million francs. The historian, Taine, in speaking of this period, says :

"Colonne's ministry was the degradation of France.

It was the corrupt court daily dragging the monarchy and itself to ruin. Fresh debts, fresh anticipations of revenue, additional taxes, seemed to restore plenty to the court, which plunged ever deeper in reckless amusements, as if this hollow life would last forever. Early in his reign Louis XVI. had given some hours every day to business of State; now all was swallowed up by court life, hunting, dissipation. The Queen could bear no serious people; and the King gradually gave way to her humor, becoming as careless and useless as the rest. At Marley, amusements from dinner at one, till one the next morning. At Versailles, three shows and two balls a week; two great suppers Tuesday and Thursday; from time to time a run into Paris for the opera. At Fontainebleau, three plays a week, cards, supper and the rest. In winter the Queen gave a weekly masked ball."

It finally dawned upon Colonne that this sort of financiering was not liable to remedy things, and some other method than spending munificently must be devised. The laying of additional taxes upon the people, already grown desperate under governmental exactions, being out of the question, he suggested to the King to test the patriotism and generosity of the privileged classes.

Accordingly the convocation of the "Assembly of Notables" was determined upon. They met in 1787. When approached by M. Colonne, however, with the proposition that they come to the relief of the Government and bear their share of its burdens, his suggestions were declared impertinent and revolutionary, and rejected with scorn. This arrogant and selfish conduct of the nobles thoroughly roused the people, whereupon, the court charged Colonne with unnecessarily stirring up the factious spirits of the country, and finally prevailed upon the King to dismiss him. In revenge, Colonne made a savage attack upon the notables, whom he charged with avarice

and cupidity. Now the rogues began to fall out and M. Necker was recalled.

One of the most significant events transpiring during the session of the Assembly of Notables, and which, at this date, seems to have been the magnetic chain between the American and French revolutions, was the Parliamentary encounter of General Lafayette with the Count d'Artois, brother of the King and afterward Charles X.—the foremost representative of the ancient feudal regime. Lafayette was a member of this Assembly of Notables, and with the spirit of American liberty in his breast, he at once espoused the cause of the people. He denounced the abuses of the Government; proposed the abolition of the *Lettres de Cachet;* the restoration of equal citizenship to the Protestants, and first and foremost of all, he demanded the convocation of the States General.

"What," exclaimed Count D'Artois, "do you really demand the assembling of the States General?"

"I do," replied the Marquis, significantly, "and something still better."

Hardly had this demand reached the outside world when it was taken up by a member of the Parliament of Paris, and a formal request made for the convocation of the States General.

"This demand," says Pontecoulant, "resounded like a clap of thunder throughout France." It was accepted by the whole country as the only solution of their difficulties. Nevertheless, when the Paris Parliament ventured a step farther and declared "that the States General alone could legally vote taxes," its members were deemed rebellious by the court, and by order of the King were banished to Troyes.

STORMING OF THE BASTILE.

CHAPTER V.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

In August, 1788, M. Necker had been recalled by the King, as the only man whom he believed would be able to avert the impending crisis. The revolutionary stream, however, had risen beyond the control of any one man, and an overflowing treasury could not now have stopped its course. The financial embarrassment of the government had rendered the call of the States General unavoidable; the settlement of the finances, however, was a matter in which the masses felt little concern. They knew that the government had been taking all it could possibly take out of them, and settlement or no settlement, it would continue to grasp all it could—no more, no less. "We want a change! We want something better." Lafayette had expressed it: "we want a share in the government of our country." This was the general sentiment of the French.

This state of feeling can well be understood, when the fact is taken into consideration, that thousands of the officers and soldiers who, having fought with the Americans to win liberty, had returned to France imbued with a kindred spirit. In America they had seen a new and happy nation, in which the pride of birth and the distinctions of rank were unnoticed; they saw, for the first time, virtue, talent and courage rewarded; they saw with surprise a sovereign people fighting, not for a master, but for themselves; dispensing justice, and administering the laws, by representatives of their own free choice.

On their return to their relations and friends, a comparison between their condition and the condition of

the Americans was but natural. The contrast could be no less than odious and intolerable. At home they beheld family relations, accidental birth and purchased positions, prefered to merit; political and social influence to justice, and wealth to intrinsic worth. They began to examine and study their own form of government; a form in which the king was everything, and the people, the formation of all power, merely ciphers. At home, in the language of another, they found the people entirely destitute of redress or protection; the royal authority paramount and unbounded; the laws venal; the peasantry oppressed, agriculture in a languishing state; commerce considered as degrading; the revenues farmed out to greedy financiers; the public money consumed by a court wallowing in luxury, and every institution at variance with justice, policy and reason.

It is but natural that these returned soldiers should wish and pine for a change, and that their ardent longings should be carried from hamlet to hamlet, and house to house, throughout their unhappy country.

Seemingly, in conjunction with this proselyting of American ideas of government, the intellectual field, broken and prepared by the philosophers of the century, was being actively worked by the so-called "economists" of the "Quesnay" school of political economy. In 1758 François Quesnay, better known as the father of the agricultural system of economy, published his famous work entitled: *"Tableau Economique et Maxines General du Government Economique."* Quesnay maintained that the earth is the sole producer of wealth, and the cultivators of the soil the only productive class. He believed that perfect freedom of trade with all nations was the greatest desideratum for agriculture, which should be encouraged by every possible means. The explosion of John Law's Mississippi bubble had most effectually cured Frenchmen

of the speculating disease, and turned their attention to land, as the best and safest investment in the end. In consequence, the value of land soon took an upward turn. Quesnay's doctrine, therefore, that a nation's wealth must be sought in agriculture, found adherents and disciples in all classes of society. His economic views, that the world and humanity are controlled by certain permanent physical and moral laws, which cannot be violated with impunity, were taken up by the philosophers, and, in conjunction with their own writings, disseminated amidst all classes of the population; in fact, the fundamental idea of Quesnay's system was also that of Voltaire and Diderot—namely, that justice manifests itself in freedom of property; that is, in the right of every man to dispose of his earnings as to him seems best; to do what does not injure the whole, and to acquire, possess and use all the commodities, so far as this does not conflict with the laws of nature and of social organization. These ideas, published in books and pamphlets, were thrown broadcast over France.

The erroneous impression seems to prevail that the French tradesman and peasant were too illiterate to indulge in this sort of literature. It is true, the system of schools was but little developed; there was, however, the village school in almost every town of France where the children of the peasant learned, at least to read the catechism, and while illiteracy had not disappeared, there were a sufficient number of those who could read to impart useful information to those who could not. The best evidence that the peasant's mind had become imbued with the doctrines of the philosophers and economists of that century is the holy horror with which M. Bertin, Finance Minister of Louis XV., relates to his master the method of their dissemination among the rural population of France

"I had long since observed," he says, "the different

sects of our philosophers, and although I had much to reproach myself with as to the practice, I had at least preserved my principles of religion. I had little doubt of the efforts of the philosophers to destroy it. I was sensible they wished the direction of the free schools; they desired his Majesty to allow them to establish these, and by that means seize the education of the people, under the pretext that the bishops and ecclesiastics, who had hitherto superintended them and their teachers, could not be competent judges in subjects so little suited to clergymen.

"I apprehended that their object was not so much to give lessons of agriculture to the children of the husbandmen and trades-people, as to withdraw them from their habitual instructions in their catechism or in their religion.

"I did not hesitate to declare to the King that the intention of the philosophers was very different from his 'I know those conspirators,' I said, 'and beware, Sire, of giving them your aid. Your kingdom is not deficient in free schools, or schools nearly free; they are to be found in every little town, and almost in every village; and perhaps they are *already but too numerous. It is not books that form mechanics and ploughmen.* The books and masters sent by the philosophers will rather infuse system than industry into the country people. I tremble lest they render them idle, vain, and jealous; in a short time, discontented and seditious, and at *length rebellious.* I fear lest the whole expense they seek to put your Majesty to should be gradeually to obliterate from the hearts of the people the love of their religion and of their Sovereign.

"To these arguments I added whatever my mind could suggest to dissuade his Majesty. I advised him 'instead of paying those masters whom the philosophers had chosen, to employ the same sums for multiplying the catechists and in searching for good and patient masters whom his Majesty, in concert with the bishops, should support, in

order to teach the poor peasantry the principles of religion and to teach them by *rote* (that is by frequent repetition to impress words upon the memory without an effort of the understanding), as the rectors and curates do those children who do not know how to read.' Louis XV. seemed to relish my arguments, but the philosophers renewed their attacks; they had people about his person who never ceased to urge him, and the King could not persuade himself that his *Thinker* (as he called Quesnay) and the other philosophers were capable of such detestable views; he was so constantly beset by these men that, during the last twenty years of his reign, in the daily conversations with which he honored me, I was perpetually employed in combatting the false ideas he had imbued respecting the economists and their associates.

"At length, determined to give the King positive proofs that they imposed upon him, I sought to gain the confidence of those peddlers who travel through the country and expose their goods for sale in the villages and at the gates of the country seats. I suspected those in particular who dealt in books to be nothing less than the agents of the philosophers to the good country folks. In my excursions into the country, I fixed my attention above all on the former; when they offered to me a book to buy, I questioned them, 'What might be the books they had? Probably catechisms or prayer books?' Few others are read in the villages. At these words I had seen many smile. 'No,' they answered; 'those are not our works; we make much more money from Voltaire, Diderot and other philosophic writings.' 'What,' said I, 'the country people buy Voltaire and Diderot! Where do they find the money for such dear works?' Their constant answer was, 'we have them at a much cheaper rate than prayer books; we can sell them for ten sols (ten cents) a volume, and have a pretty profit in the bargain.' Ques-

tioning them still further, many of them owned, 'that those books cost them nothing; that they received whole bales of them, without knowing from whence they came, but being simply licensed to sell them in their journeys at the lowest price.'"

Not only through the latter part of the reign of Louis XV., but all through that of Louis XVI., this silent, but effective missionary work was in progress, and it is useless to say, that when the Revolution came, the rural population were not prepared for a change. They cherished and admired the model of free institutions which the American Colonists had set before them; they did not understand its details, but they knew it was a government by all the people, managed by their representatives. They did not, however, entertain the idea of so radical a transformation—a change for the better was all they could hope for.

The news that Louis XVI. had concluded to call together the States-General was received with great satisfaction; it was considered a step in the right direction, as some of their most prominent men, at least, would here lift their voices in their behalf. When, at the close of the year 1788, it became known that an additional royal decree had been issued, allowing to the commons double the number of representatives of that of the other two orders—the nobility and the clergy—the enthusiasm was unbounded.

The excitement and confusion which prevailed in the rural districts during this election is easy of explanation, when it is considered, that not less than four million men, who had never witnessed such a thing as a popular election, with its appendages of primary meetings, presidents, secretaries and ballots, were thus suddenly called to perform the duties of citizenship.

The government, however, had failed to issue definite

BAILLY.

instructions and directions concerning the methods of holding this election. The call of the King had not been spontaneous in the first place; as was well understood, it lay not in the plan of the government to initiate the new voter into all the details of an election nor raise him to the least political power. The court and the ministry rested in the innocence and modesty of the peasant, and in his traditional attachment and respect for his "Seignior." They recalled "the good old times" when the "Third Estate" elected as their representatives only noblemen and members of the civil administration, and the latter, expecting to become nobles themselves, sided, hat in hand, with the nobility, and against the interests of those who had elected them. Then they relied in the efficacy of wealth in the hands of the privileged classes, which, when placed where it would do the most good, was always able to travesty universal suffrage into universal farce. The result, however, proved the short-sightedness of such expectations, and demonstrated the fact that while they had endeavored to keep the people in ignorance, the people had, in some way, become cognizant of the wrongs and injustices to which they had been subjected; that the means of redress had now been placed in their hands, and they would neither be cajoled, intimidated nor bribed into voting for candidates other than of their own choice.

It is true many could not read or write, but, as is the case generally in such deficiency, many could talk. There were men among them who could write, had read much, and would act for them—the poorly-paid clergymen of the village, who had suffered and sympathized with them, and who could be relied upon to formulate their demands; these same clergymen themselves, in many places being selected as electors. The *cahiers*, or platforms of the electors, still extant, show the modest demands of these newly-enfranchised voters. In the main, they were requests

for relief from abuses; from onerous and unequal taxation; from tyrannical and often barborous treatment of the landed aristocracy and royal tax-gatherer; and for a more equal and equitable dispensation of justice, and *for a house of the people's Representatives.*

It does not appear, however, that among all these requests, a single one was made for a republican form of government. As for the methods of obtaining, or making these changes, few suggestions were made, nor had the leaders a clear idea of what they proposed to do. Both people and their leaders, however, distinctly perceived the break-of-day for France.

Let us consider for an instant what were the most crying evils from which the French people asked to be relieved.

The great infamy which had attended the *Lettre de Cachet* system, and that of the Bastiles during the whole reigns of both Louis XV. and Louis XVI., was one of the most prominent features of royal despotism in France. They not only were arbitrarily used by courtiers and the mistresses of the king, and with the abuse of which Mme. de Maintenon made herself so unspeakably infamous, but they were sold in blanks, to be filled up at the pleasure of the purchaser, who was thus enabled, for the gratification of private revenge, to tear a man from the bosom of his family and to place him where he would be forgotten and die unknown. They were sold to parents to imprison their sons (as Mirabeau had been). They were frequently presented to handsome women, tired of their husbands. They had become so common, that the clerks of departments, their mistresses and friends of mistresses, obtained them as favors. And once in the Bastile, the poor wretch was forgotten in this tomb of the living. In 1775, there were about twenty such dungeons in the country, containing 3,000 prisoners. Voltaire,

himself, was imprisoned through a *Lettre de Cachet* signed by Louis XV. at the age of five.

This *Lettre de Cachet* system and these arbitrary imprisonments were not, however, the principal causes of discontent, as by these merely the higher classes were affected.

The real evils were those which oppressed the inhabitants of the country, among which were the *corvée* or compulsory labor on the highway, which yearly ruined hundreds of agriculturists; the recruiting system, which oppressed the poor exclusively; the *capitainerie*, or the exclusive privilege of the Princes of Blood to the game of certain districts; the odious disproportion and severity of the penal code of revenue collections; the dime, or the tenth of all the products, which was often computed so as to amount to one-third, and often to one-half of the total crop; the taxes "in kind," which had been retained as a seigniorial right since the middle age, by which the poor tenant had to contribute yearly a certain quantity of wood, of wheat, poultry, eggs, beeswax and flowers, and, in addition to the usual service of the *corvée*, gratuituous labor at the seigniorial mansion, also the *taille*, or real-estate tax, from which the clergy and the nobility were almost wholly exempt, was estimated at 110 million francs yearly. According to official statistics the various taxes paid by the peasants of one of these districts, amounted to fifty-three francs per hundred of his income to the State, fourteen francs to their seigniors, fourteen to the clergy, and from the remaining nineteen francs the salt and consumptive taxes were taken.

These taxes were extorted from this class by the *tax-fermiers*, with the most flagrant injustice and brutality. In addition to the privileged orders, who were exempt from taxation, the rich and influential succeeded through

bribery and other dishonorable means in evading payment of their just proportion, and in transfering the burden upon the shoulders of those least able to bear it.

This unfortunate state of affairs was made more intolerable through the vexatious and burdensome duties collected between the provinces, as well as the prohibition of the export of wheat.

With the exception of a few magnificent highways, built for military purposes, the roads of communication were in a wretched condition. Trade and commerce were at a stand-still. The higher nobility, who wasted the greater part of the wealth they had wrung from the peasant and artizan in extravagance and dissipation at Paris and Versailles, left the management of their domains to their superintendents, while the comparatively insignificant number of small independent agriculturists, harassed by the tax-gatherer, compulsory service to royal tourists, etc., never succeeded in making the earnings necessary for humane existence. Under these conditions, the larger estates, as well as the small ones, gradually degenerated, for who was found willing to exert his energies merely to gratify the rapacity of the intendants, or the extravagancies of the courtiers. Not more land was cultivated than was absolutely necessary, if for no other reason than to avoid such appearances as would suggest that an additional exaction might be made by the government.

The seigniorial justice courts were purely arbitrary, and merely established for the protection of the innumerable feudal prerogatives of the nobility and clergy.

These were some of the evils of which the people in the rural districts asked to be relieved at their first election.

What was the attitude of the privileged orders, in the face of the impending conflict? Were there any signs of a returning sentiment of justice? Or any disposition to make

concessions, as a matter of prudence? Neither the one nor the other.

By examining the platforms of the clergy and the nobility, we find that the question with them was, not what may reasonably be conceded but how can we best maintain what we have? In these documents we see that the nobility demanded the confirmation of its feudal privileges; the continuation of the recruiting clauses; the exclusive privileges of the nobility to advancement to positions of honor and trust in the army and church; the abolition of free commerce on grain (recently decreed by Turgot's advice); the maintainance of the penal press laws, and, last but not least, the perpetuation of the infamous system of the *Lettre de Cachet.*

Thus was the irrepressible conflict, between the oppressors and the oppressed, inaugurated in France in 1789.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

The meeting of the States General had been fixed for May 5th. The formal opening, however, did not take place until the 6th.

Thousands had come from Paris to Versailles to witness the ceremonies of this unusual occasion—the beginning of the reign of law. The common people were full of hope. What would be the outcome? It could not be a change for the worse. The 578 members of the Third Estate, or Commons, were placed in front of the magnificent procession as it moved from the church to the Hall of the Assembly. Dressed in plain black clothes—an unusual costume for officials in those days—they were received by the enthusiastic people lining the streets with loud cheers. Then came the 291 members of the nobility, and 270 of the higher clergy, all arrayed in gorgeous apparel. They were received in ominous silence. "Of this procession," says Michelet, "the nobility were illustrious nobodies with one exception, the young Marquis De Lafayette, who, in spite of the court, had gone out to America to take part in their war. The King was cheered for having called the States General; the Queen, however, was received coldly, as she continued to remain "the proud Austrian" to the common people. She had never considered it worth her while to cultivate their impressable natures, and her reserve and seeming indifference to their affection was, on this occasion, answered in like manner. She exerted herself to the utmost to appear unmoved, but the effort was too great, and she fainted."

MIRABEAU.

The one man, upon the assembling of the members, who appeared to attract particular attention, was Mirabeau; the Count Mirabeau, who having been expelled from the "Order of Nobility," had been elected to the Third Estate from Aix. It could be seen upon his face that he had come to plague his tormentors. When this man of easy virtue took his seat, murmurs of dissatisfaction came from the benches of the nobility; the inmates of glass houses thus early began to throw stones. It has been charged, that at the beginning of their proceedings, the court and privileged orders had secretly agreed to stand by the old way of voting, to wit, the two to one system; in order that any measure proposed by the commons could be defeated by the other two.

At all events the government had failed to make definite arrangements regarding the mode of assembling, and this indecision and uncertainty constituted the first serious obstacle to harmonious action.

It is true, the old constitution of the States General provided, that each of their orders should meet and deliberate separately. Since the last sitting—one hundred and fifty-eight years—times had changed, however. Then, the Third Estate was considered merely as a subordinate appendage to pacify the burghers. But the King, in his new departure, by allotting them double representation, thereby tacitly admitted their importance in the State. Besides, the government had been informed that in almost every election district the demand for a joint assembly had been made. Instead of meeting these in a spirit of conciliation, however, the court and privileged orders insisted upon the old customs; thus exposing themselves at the outset to the suspicion that treachery and deceit were contemplated. When the deputies had all assembled in the handsomely decorated hall, the King appeared and opened the proceedings with an address

brimful of good wishes and promises of reform, leaving unsettled, however, the principal question, the manner of meeting.

M. Necker, who followed him, with his financial report was not more fortunate. His long array of figures wearied the assemblage. The King, followed by the clergy and nobility, retired, and the Third Estate dispersed to talk matters over. Some were disgusted, some incensed, and some determined, but all less hopeful than before the meeting. Over a month of the precious time of the members was now wasted in a contest between the Third Estate on one side and the privileged classes on the other as to the method of meeting.

The uncompromising attitude of the nobility and the clergy against a joint assemblage, had the effect of confirming the suspicion of the Third Estate, that it was not intended to allow the people the full enjoyment of the advantage they had appeared to gain. Conscious of the justice of their cause, and of their numerical strength, they stoutly persisted in the demand that the two orders join them and form one assemblage.

Repeated conferences were held, but without result. Messages from the Third Estate urging action were unheeded, or returned with evasive replies or insulting haughtiness. During this long inactivity of the Assembly, business became stagnant; the monied class, always timid, at this delay closed the doors of their factories, and a large class of the population found themselves out of employment. The distress in all large towns increased from day to day. Provisions grew scarce, and large bands of beggars—the tramps of those days—began roaming through the country demanding bread.

In Paris disturbances were of frequent occurrence. The thousands of idle workmen were daily reinforced by idle men from the country. Blood had been shed in the

Faubourg St. Antoine, through some heartless remarks made by a wall-paper manufacturer, Revillion, and his factory sacked and destroyed. The idea of political clubs was gaining great strength among the people of France. The *Club des Bretons,* at Versailles (afterwards the Jacobin), composed mainly of members of the Assembly from the Province of Bretagne, was the first to gain notoriety. Others were formed, and through them and in connection with the press, the people were kept thoroughly informed of the obstinate struggle in progress between the nobility and the commons.

In view of this threatening state of affairs, what were the representatives of the people to do? It was their clear and imperative duty to promptly cut the gordian-knot, or as Abbay Sièyes, deputy from Paris, on June 10th, expressed it:

"*Coupons le cable, il est temps!*" And they did cut the cable, which held the ship Revolution to its mooring. The last notice was sent to the nobility the same day, to wit: "In one hour the call of the whole House will be made." The demand was rejected, and the Third Estate proceeded to constitute itself an acting body under the title of the Commons. Five days later, on June 15th, having been joined by ten members of the privileged orders, Deputy Sièyes proposed to adopt the name of "Assembly of the Representatives, known and verified by the French Nation." This was a preamble and not a name. Numerous other propositions were made. For two days the struggle continued; Sièyes had modified or rather simplified his proposition to "National Assembly," and this name was finally adopted on the 17th. The formula was solemnly sworn to, and the Assembly thus constituted went before the world with the declaration: that henceforth "the sovereignty of France was with the Nation." In order to substantiate this declaration, the Assembly

further decreed, "that henceforth the right and power of taxation rested in the National Assembly."

This bold step of the Assembly caused the most tremendous excitement throughout the country, but was heard with consternation and dismay by the court. The nobility became exasperated to madness. It insisted that the King annul the revolutionary decree of the Assembly without delay; or, if necessary, *disperse this body by force of arms;* seemingly unaware of the fact, that with the exception of the regiments composed of foreign mercenaries, the army was French in all that the term implies, and could not be used against the Representatives of its people.

After a lengthy discussion by the Council of Ministers, during which the danger and uselessness of forcible measures was fully demonstrated, it was resolved to push the King into the breach by holding a Royal Session of the Estates. A plan was devised by which the King might, without a collision, undo what had been done by the Assembly; where he could make promises of all possible concessions and still insist upon separate organization. In pursuance of this programme the hall in which the Assembly had met was closed to the Representatives without previous notice; ostensibly to prepare it for the Royal Session. The doors were guarded by a military detachment. These circumstances and the ill-chosen time raised the suspicion in the minds of the Deputies and of the people who had assembled in large numbers in front of the hall, that the dissolution of the Assembly was intended. In order to thwart such a plan, the members betook themselves to the now celebrated Tennis Court (ball ground) near by, where that memorable oath was taken: "Never to separate until a constitution was formed and public order secured." This second step in the revolutionary course formed again the occasion for wild

demonstrations of joy in Paris, and throughout the country.

The Royal Session was held on the 23d of June. The King's address, which contained promises of reforms, and the assurance that everything would be left to the States General to regulate, was received with chilly silence on the part of the members of the Third Estate. When, however, poor Louis XVI. essayed to assume the tone of his great grandsire Louis XIV., by declaring, "If you abandon me in this grand undertaking, *I alone* shall take the good of my people in hand; *I alone* shall consider myself their true representative," and closed with the peremptory command, "I order you, gentlemen, to separate at once, and to meet to-morrow morning in the chambers set apart for your order, to re-open your sittings," the expression of surprise and indignation was plainly visible upon the upturned faces of the representatives.

The King now withdrew, followed by a majority of the nobility and clergy, the Commons remaining in their seats. The Royal Master of Ceremony soon after entered the hall, and approaching the President, said: "You have heard the order of the King?"

"I can not adjourn the Assembly without their consent," the President replied; and, turning to a member at his side, said, by way of suggestion, "It occurs to me that the National Assembly can receive no orders."

Mirabeau, who was then speaking to the Assembly, reminding the members of their sacred obligation taken at the Tennis Court, and appealing to their honor and their sense of duty not to basely surrender their sacred trust, had overheard the remark of the President, and, turning towards the royal messenger, said: "We have heard the recommendation of the King; but you, sir, who have no place, no voice, nor the right to speak in this Assembly—

you are not the person to remind us of his commands. Go! tell those who have sent you here that we are here by the will of the people; that we shall be driven hence only by the force of the bayonet!"

This courageous assertion of national sovereignty and open defiance of royal authority had an electrifying effect upon the members of the Assembly, which effect was evidenced by the general remarks which followed. Through Mirabeau's utterance the spirit of resistance now manifested itself, and became conclusive by the subsequent adoption of Mirabeau's resolution, "declaring, under penalty of death, the inviolability of members of the National Assembly."

The King, on being informed of the Assembly's refusal to adjourn, simply replied: "Well, let them stay," the only course open under the circumstances; any other might not only have precipitated a terrible conflict, for which the court was not yet prepared, but have endangered the very lives of the royal family. Paris, not the turbulent elements of the faubourgs, but its business and professional men, the bourgeoisie of the great city, the principal actors in the revolutionary movement, would, at that time, have resisted any measure of a counter-revolutionary character to the bitter end. The scope of public sentiment was well understood at court. This intelligent class of the Paris population had been watching the endangered position of the Assembly, besieged by mercenary troops, with the most intense feeling of apprehension. Well authenticated rumors of threats on the part of the royal family and others against some of the members of the Assembly had reached Paris, and the best citizens would undoubtedly have marched in a body upon Versailles at the first overt act. The Queen herself became alarmed, and advised the King, as a measure of prudence, to appear friendly to M. Necker, whose absence from the Assembly on the 23d of

BANQUET OF THE ROYAL GUARDS AT VERSAILLES.

June had been construed by the people as a silent protest against the reactionary programme of that day. His seeming "*entente cordiale*" with the court gave general satisfaction.

The people went in masses to the palace and cheered the Queen and the Dauphin. Still, if the court had agreed with Necker and had accepted the situation in good faith, why did the King not revoke his reactionary orders of the 23d? By these the Assembly was an illegal body, sitting in open violation of royal authority and acting outside of law; reliable troops, with pointed cannon, had been placed in line, fronting the Assembly, ready to carry his orders into execution. This irritating suspense, with its rumors of intrigues and conspiracies, naturally served to increase the anxiety at the capital and to exasperate its populace to frenzy. The massing of troops in the vicinity of Paris was an additional cause of disquietude and terror. Thirty-five thousand men stood at its gates and twenty thousand more were expected. Under these alarming conditions, intensified by scarcity of food, the one hundred and twenty Paris electors, but recently chosen to perform the highest act of popular sovereignty, namely, that of appointing Deputies to the National Assembly, as a matter of public policy, concluded on the 25th of June to meet again, for the purpose of considering the situation. They were mostly members of the wealthy class of manufacturers, bankers, etc., with a sprinkling of nobles. They resolved themselves into a Provisional Municipal Council, and voted an address to the King, asking for the establishment of a National guard, the organization of a communal government with annual elections, and the revocation of the King's orders of the 23d. On the same day a movement of great significance took place. The French guards, a *corps d'élite*, composed almost exclusively of Parisians, heretofore considered loyal to the

court, left their barracks and fraternized with the people. The revolutionary tide was visibly rising when the court, anxious to postpone the crisis, advised the King to order the nobility and the clergy to join the Third Estate; they did so without taking part in the deliberations, however. The victory of the commons seemed now to be complete, since by this step the King had tacitly acknowledged the legal status of the Assembly. A month ago, the members of the Third Estate were the despised underlings, whose company must be temporarily endured—"Nothing once," as Mr. Sieyes aptly expressed it; "To-day, to all appearances, the Representatives of the sovereign people of France—everything." But were they so in fact? Paris was mistrustful. What, was asked, does this disinclination on the part of the privileged orders to take part in the deliberations signify? Are they waiting for new developments? Why, if everything is satisfactory, does not the King formally revoke his offensive orders of the 23d; what are the reasons for massing so many troops at Paris? On the 30th another event, apparently insignificant but important in its effect, added fuel to the flame. Eleven privates of the French guards had been thrown into a dungeon, for the crime of having secretly sworn only to obey the orders of the Assembly. The indignant people battered down the doors of the prison, released the soldiers and marched them to the Palais Royal, where they received a popular ovation. Thus, from day to day, the revolutionary movement received fresh impetus. The court kept reticent; the royal orders of the 23d remained unrepealed;—the very air smelt sulphurous. There was every appearance of peace and conciliation at the palace in Versailles, and yet the court was making preparations for war! Every member felt that a crisis was near at hand. On the 10th of July it was rumored that on the day following sixty members of the Assembly were to be arrested.

Upon the strength of this rumor, the Assembly, upon Mirabeau's motion, voted an address to the King, asking for the withdrawal of the troops. This request, clothed in humble and respectful language, was thus haughtily answered by the King: "I am the sole judge of the necessity." Whence this sudden stiffening of the King's back-bone? Was the mine ready to be sprung? But why this suspense? Let us see!

Note well and judge whether all signs did not point toward a violent counter—Revolution. From the 23d of June, reinforcement of the garrison at Versailles continued, several regiments of foreign mercenaries, who could be relied upon to shoot, having arrived;—almost three weeks of military preparations! What for? But one obstacle to a successful attack upon the Assembly remained to be removed. M. Necker's ministry would not lend a helping hand to such a desperate step. To carry out the conspiracy, men of unquestionable attachment to the old regime must be placed at the helm. Consequently, on the following day, the 11th, M. Necker was privately notified of his dismissal, and ordered forthwith to leave the kingdom. Three other members of the ministry, who had loyally accepted the situation, were, also, dismissed. M. Breteuil, a favorite of the Queen, who had expressed himself ready to lay Paris in ashes and decimate her inhabitants, if necessary, was chosen as prime minister. Marshal Broglie, the commander-in-chief of the troops, an old martinet of the seven-years' war, and a violent reactionist, was charged with the war portfolio. The court was now ready for the stroke, but the King still hesitated. That day of inaction was fatal to the conspirators. When the news of Necker's dismissal and exile reached Paris, it created the most intense feeling, the furor of the exasperated populace finding vent in violent imprecations against the Queen and the new ministry.

The streets were soon filled with a tumultuous multitude. The tocsin sounded from every church tower, and, at noon, the cannon at the Palais Royal thundered the alarm. With the cry *Vive la Nation!—A bas* this or that minister, the living mass, armed with old muskets, pistols, sabers and pikes rushed hither and thither, the main stream finally hurrying toward the common meeting place, the garden of the Palais Royal. Here a young man, Camille Desmoulins, stood upon a table, his sword in one hand and a pistol in the other, haranguing the multitude and calling the people to arms to meet the threatened attack of the military. The cry "to arms," thus raised, was taken up by two hundred thousand men. The excitement was increased by the reported charge of cavalry at the Place Louis XV. upon the unarmed people. The streets were barricaded and kept guarded by citizens during the night. On the 13th the demand of the people for arms became more urgent. Search was made in all directions, but with the exception of a few muskets at the city hall, none were to be found. The electors, alarmed in turn, at the responsibility they had assumed, hesitated and temporized, but finally, hard pressed, they ordered the enrollment of 48,000 men as a National guard.

This took place the evening preceding the most memorable event of the Revolution, the taking of the Bastile.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BASTILE.

THE formidable fortress known in history as "The Bastile" was situated upon the spacious square in Paris which to-day bears its name, and upon which now stands the magnificent memorial column of July, or *Colonne de Juillet.*

The square forms the terminal point of seven or eight of the most important and densely populated streets, and, with the exception of the Grand Boulevard, are almost exclusively inhabited by the working people and small tradesmen, who draw their subsistence from the innumerable large and small factories of the Faubourg St. Antoine, Faubourgs St. Marceau and the Marais.

In ancient times the Grand Boulevard was the fortified limits of Paris; all the territory beyond was called the Faubourgs, or Suburbs. Thus came the names of the streets—Faubourg St. Antoine, Faubourg du Temple, Faubourg St. Martin, St. Dennis, etc.—all suburbs, but long ago becoming an integral part of the city of Paris. The population of Paris at the time of the Revolution has been estimated at about 800,000. Fully one-fourth of this number inhabited this section of the city, over whose heads the threatening guns of the Bastile ever hovered. The eight huge round towers of the fortress were more than thirty feet thick at the base, twelve at their summits, and were connected by curtains of solid masonry. This massive pile of stone was surrounded by a moat forty feet wide, which in early times was filled with water, rendering access to the interior only possible

through draw-bridges. Its heavy armament, which was able to sweep the abutting streets almost their entire length, rendered the fort absolutely impregnable, except by the slow process of a regular siege; and the hope of taking it by force, as was attempted by the people of Paris, was a sublime inspiration, or an act of desperation, incited by the knowledge that Paris was to be attacked by the King's forces, at seven different points, the following night.

The history of the Bastile may be made clear by a single sentence. It was of sinister origin, and was a standing menace to justice. During the reign of Charles the Fifth, under the pretext of defending the city against foreign invasion, but in fact to over-awe the inhabitants of the faubourgs, the Bastile was begun by Hugh Aubriot, in 1369. The period of its military history was of short duration. The English, driven from the streets of Paris by the Constable of Richmond, five years after the burning of Joan of Arc, took refuge within its protecting walls, but, after a siege, were compelled to surrender. Later, Turenne, at the head of Louis XIII.'s troops, was upon the point of beating Condi, when Madamoiselle de Montpensier rushed to the Bastile and turned its guns upon the Royalists. In this instance the fortress served her to good purpose, but, when some years after, her lover was thrown into this same prison by Louis XIV., because he wanted to marry the princess, she was compelled, after ten long years of pleading, to sacrifice half her immense fortune to secure his release. Richelieu was the first to use the fortress for prisoners of State, the same prince who introduced the infamous system of *"Lettre de Cachet."*

During the reign of the three Louis', the Bastile was simply the "King's Private Prison." In its reeking dungeon cells, all opposition to arbitrary decrees, protests

THE WOMEN OF PARIS ON THEIR WAY TO VERSAILLES TO BRING BACK THE KING.

against ministerial abuses of power, critical and disrespectful comments upon the scandalous conduct of royal mistresses, and philosophic digressions upon human rights, justice and honesty were silenced. The secret history of the Bastile—the horrors of its dungeons and "*oubliettes*," its instruments of torture, the endless sufferings of thousands of its victims—has long since been given to the world, both from the official records of the jailers and in personal memoirs of its prisoners.

But, when men and women are heard to express only sentiments of horror at the cruelties visited upon royalty during the French Revolution, a repetition of the least revolting instances of kingly injustice in the Bastile will serve to keep alive the spirit of honest judgment in the most obdurate heart. The register of names found at the destruction of the Bastile was incomplete, as it was intended to be; but hundreds of names of men, who had either died or for years languished in its living catacombs, were traced upon its walls.

When, however, it was desired that the name of a prominent person, who had suddenly disappeared, should be forgotton also, he was buried under a fictitious name, and only through the indiscretion of some official, or more humane Beadle, was the secret of his fate made known to family or friends.

The register was supposed to contain, not only the name, but the charge for the prisoner's commitment. Upon examination it was found that the charge was generally of a trifling nature, or very indefinite. For instance: Jean Blondeau.—"Suspect."

Of what crime he was suspected seems not worth mentioning in this case.

Francois Lécompte.—Writing silly letters to Madam de Pompadour.

The Marquis D'O.—For being a turbulent spirit.

The Abbot de Sardun.—Suspected of Jansenism. (Old Catholic.)

In one case, a family having been, or in fear of being scandalized, secured a *Lettre de Cachet* for the offending member, and thus were saved from further humiliation.

The Count de Donzy, suspected of intending to marry an actress, was imprisoned in the Bastile.

Paupaillard, for being an indifferent Catholic.

John Hastings, an Englishman—"Suspect."

L'Aourent d'Harvey for failing to give King George his full title of "King of England," in his Almanacs.

The Demoiselle Dupont, "suspected of knowing the author of an annonymous poem upon the King."

The following correspondence, which passed between the Lieutenant of Police of Paris and M. De Launay, the last Governor of the Bastile, fully illustrates the methods employed by this city official to rid himself of obnoxious people:

"I send you, my dear De Launay, the man F——: a very bad fellow. You may keep him eight days, when you may *get rid of him* (*débarrasser de lui*).

DE SARTINES."

Upon the back of this note appeared the following endorsement:

"On—June the man F—— was entered. The prescribed time having elapsed, this is returned to M. Sartines for instructions, to wit: *under what name* he desires him to be buried.

DE LAUNAY."

This expeditious manner of disposing of unpleasant cases seems to have been the one adopted at the Bastile, whenever outright murder could safely take the place of incarceration.

Among the many memoirs written by people who, for a longer or shorter time, were immured in this dungeon,

those of M. Linguet, published in London in 1783, six years before the revolutionary spirit of France took shape, are considered the most authentic.

M. Linguet was an author and editor of "The Annals," published in Brussells. Although a devoted royalist he sought to shield the King, while exposing at the same time the inhumanity and mendacity of his ministers.

In March, 1780, the issue of "The Annals" was seized by the police upon some frivolous pretext, and in September, having been induced by treacherous methods to visit Paris, he was arrested upon a *Lettre de Cachet*, and thrown into the Bastile, where he remained two years lacking four months. Not a question was asked him, nor a verbal or written charge preferred against him. The immediate cause of his detention was supposed to be an exposé published in his journal of some suspicious financial transaction affecting the honesty of Marshal de Duras, and of other high official and military dignitaries. After the first two weeks of his confinement he was frankly told that, having been within the walls of the Bastile, the ministers had become alarmed, lest, upon his liberation he would revenge himself by making public the information he had obtained during his own imprisonment, and of the treatment inflicted upon others less prominent than himself.

At the end of twenty months, unable to furnish the shadow of an excuse for his further detention, he was conditionally released. The terms were, namely, that henceforth he reside at a small village forty miles from Paris, and *endeavor to be forgotten as soon as possible.* A refusal would return him to his old cell in the prison. During the few years in which he "tried to be forgotten," he wrote his celebrated "Memoirs of the Bastile." In his preface he says: "I shall not only show in this book

that I was absolutely innocent of any offense, and that no one else was ever justly imprisoned in the Bastile; the innocent because they were innocent; the guilty, but not convicted, judged or punished according to law; all law is violated here. There is no torture approaching the torture endured within, except in hell. It is devouring men of all ranks and all nations, and these memoirs give but a faint picture of the condition of things in this fearful prison. For example: 'The Suspect' is brought in, and at once subjected to the indignities of a common criminal. He is stripped, his garments searched, his papers, money, jewelry—everything taken from him. He is then hurried to a cell in some one of the towers. These *Cachots* are lighted by a small aperture, across which are three flat iron bars, so placed that the prisoner cannot see the street. The ditches filled with the sewerage from the Rue St. Antoine penetrates and poisons the air with its pestilential stench. These cells are cold and damp, as the great thickness of the walls excludes every ray of the sun's heat.

"The system of seclusion is complete. Once in the Bastile the prisoner is as ignorant of what transpires around him, or outside of its impenetrable walls, as if buried as many feet in his grave; a father, brother, sister or friend may be but a few yards away, but not a glance, not a word can be exchanged with each other, even were they cognizant of the other's presence. But, while great precautions are taken to prevent any communication between prisoners, no effort is made to conceal the sufferings endured by his next neighbor. The double floors and interior walls do not destroy the sounds of clanking chains, or the regular click of the heavy keys on the jailer's rounds. It is in this absolute seclusion that the refinement of barbarism consists. The imagination, ever active, brings into existence every conceivable cause for imprison-

ment, the least criminal of which might have been the performance of some patriotic deed or humane service for the benefit of mankind."

The salary of the Governor of the Bastile was 60,000 franks ($12,000) per year; but by methods of extortion, unblushingly practiced, this sum was doubled. The king supplied the prisoner with an unfurnished cell. A man of rank could not remain in so small an apartment; for a larger one, there was so much to pay; so much for the use of a chest of drawers; so much for a table, for a chair, etc., etc. For the prisoner's support the King paid so much; according to rank or influence. The rate was as follows:

A simple burgher—five franks per day ($1.00). A preacher or priest, banker, or judge of a lower court—ten franks. Lieutenant-General—twenty-four franks. A Marshal—forty franks.

And yet it is affirmed, that prisoners in the dungeons have lived upon four ounces of meat per day; some were given milk alone.

The Governor was allowed to introduce, free of duty, a hundred casks of wine for the prisoners' use. This privilege he generally sold to a retail wine seller for two thousand franks, the merchant furnishing the lowest priced wine; "in fact," says Linguet, "simple vinegar."

Besides these profits on the food rates and room accommodations, the high officials paid for a number of cells, whether occupied or not, it is presumed in order to have a place always ready. From this source alone it has been estimated the Governor received 10,000 francs per year. From the sale of *Lettres de Cachets* an amount proportioned to the rank of the prisoner was daily set aside for the Governor. Taken all in all, the salary and perquisites of the office of Governor of the Bastile in time came to be a very lucrative post — outrivalling the best of

the kind to be found now in the United States. Originally a garden had been cultivated within the walls, but its last Governor, De Launay, being of a utilitarian turn of mind, rented out this only green spot to a gardener, who sold his vegetables and fruits to whomsoever could buy. During De Launay's rule, also, the prisoners were forbidden to walk on the gallery inside the towers.

Said Linguet, "All the superior officers of the Bastile wore the cross of St. Louis, though De Launay and others had never served in the army, but were given their titles in order to insure among the prisoners respect for their authority. *The army does not furnish the nation with jailers and executioners.* Army officers are sometimes compelled to execute unjust orders, but they never disobey the law in their executions. They are certain that the unfortunates turned over to them have had some means of defense; they are certain a just and impartial trial has preceded a rigorous decision. They are authorized to suppose that they are dealing with a guilty person.

The officers of the Bastile, however, are certain of the contrary. They know they are daily violating the laws, and that it is their special duty to violate them; that they are the passive and criminal instruments of arbitrary violence; that three-fourths of those delivered into their hands are absolutely innocent of any offense; that if there had been a pretext for judicially putting them in irons, the short process of the *Lettre de Cachet* would not have been resorted to."

When, five years after, this head officer, DeLaunay, was sent to his long home without the *delays of a trial, the pleadings of a counsel, or the judgment of the court,* Mr. Burke, of the British Parliament, burned with righteous indignation over the acts of the bloodthirsty French rabble, which had merely meted out to the jailer measure for measure. Among the world-renowned persons who

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had spent longer or shorter terms of imprisonment in the Bastile, and would have been able to verify the statements of M. Linguet, had they been living, were General Richelieu, Voltaire, Blaizot, the King's librarian, and the "Man in the Iron Mask," of whose identity nothing positively is known.

A re-perusal of the lines of blood and tear-stained pages of its history is recommended to such readers of the French Revolution as have tender hearts only for the calamities and death which overtook the royal family in those days of carnage. Divested of prejudice, and that maudlin sentimentality which encircles the person of Kings and Queens with the nimbus of perfection, such readers will find abundant material upon which to justify the opinion, that the fate which befell royalty was not so much the bloodthirstiness of the French people as simple retributive justice, which sooner or later overtakes all tyrants, individual or official.

CHAPTER VIII.

ASSAULT UPON THE BASTILE, JULY 14TH, 1789.

THE question springs involuntarily to the lips of a nineteenth century reader: "How did the people so long endure this state of things?" The answer is natural: "The ordinary citizen of Paris never entered its gates, and the ordinary citizen is a very patient animal as long as he is decently clothed and fed." This prison was the prison to quiet unfavorable opinions, nursed or expressed against all persons in power.

"But the sentiment of justice was yet in the hearts of the common people of France," says Michelet, and the still stronger voice of pity, at last spoke to them. The denizens of the faubourgs, who were compelled daily to pass under the shadow of its blackened walls, began to look upon it as an accursed spot. There were many other prisons, but *this* was most hated of all because it was considered the embodiment of arbitrary caprice; a beaurocratic inquisition.

The court had made the Bastile the domicil of the liberal spirits of France—the prison of free thought—and all Europe came to consider, Absolutism, Tyranny and the Bastile as synonymous terms.

On the very morning of the ever memorable 14th of July, the people were still unarmed. Some powder found in the Arsenal had been distributed during the night, but no arms. It was known that the Government had a large quantity stored at the Hotel des Invalides, guarded by the old veteran Sombreuil, a brave man, who had been reinforced by a strong detachment of artillery; also, that General Besenval, with an army of foreign mercenaries,

was at the military school within a stone's throw of the former building.

Besenval had received no orders from Versailles, and when 30,000 of the people, headed by several companies of the French guards, reached the doors of the Hotel des Invalides, they were met by no opposition. A short parley was held with the old veteran Sombreuil. In a good-natured way, he said, "he was an honorable soldier and could not be expected willingly to surrender the arms which had been entrusted to his keeping." "But," he added, "I expect a reply to a message sent by courier to Versailles soon, and you will have to wait for that." While no one was disposed to do violence to the old soldier, the arms must be had! Time was pressing! Even while the parley was in progress a portion of the impatient citizens had already jumped the ditches, scaled the walls, and quietly opened the boxes in the basement containing the muskets. So expeditiously had the work been done that in two short hours after reaching the gates 28,000 small arms and twenty pieces of artillery were in the hands of the enthusiastic people.

In the meantime an immense throng had collected about the Bastile, six miles away. Few were armed, and the demand made upon other arsenals for muskets was denied. The garrison at the Bastile had been under arms all night, and the detachment of thirty-two Swiss infantry, brought in as reinforcements, were sworn by the Governor, "to kill the first man that refused to do his duty."

The eighty-two veterans, who manned the heavy guns, had friends and relatives among the people, and it was feared they would hesitate to mow them down with shell and canister or blow up their houses, should it become necessary. A little prodding by bayonets might be required, and thus this squad of foreign infantry had been promptly provided by the Government.

In addition to the heavy guns in the embrasures and upon the towers, a number of field-pieces charged with canister had been planted in the court, facing the doors. Loads of heavy paving stones had been carried to the battlements, to be thrown upon the assailants should any appear. The buildings belonging, but situated outside the walls, the guard house and kitchen had been evacuated and all made ready for the great citadel of Paris to do its work whenever called upon by the inner circle of the court. Thus were the decks cleared for action on the morning of the 14th of July, 1789.

At ten o'clock a committee of the Electors were sent to the Bastile with the request to Governor De Launay, "that he withraw the guns sweeping the streets of the city." To this he agreed and further promised that, unless the fortress were attacked, he would not open fire.

From this it would appear that the Electors did not entertain the idea of reducing the Bastile by arms. A quasi-neutrality was all they could expect, and this inference is still more plausible, when it is considered that two deputations were sent to De Launay, asking him to admit a detachment of the Parisian militia, to act in conjunction with the garrison. This request was made upon the ground that the city ought to have control over all the military forces stationed within its limits. But, De Launay, strong in the belief that General Besenval's army would attempt to disperse the people that very night, turned a deaf ear to every request of this nature. After arms had been secured at the Hotel des Invalides, all seemed involuntarily to turn towards the Bastile. In human streams they came, and as their numbers swelled to thousands and tens of thousands, what was in the mind of a few, like a deadly contagion, spread to the minds of the many. The faint demand at first made for terms was now changed to "*absolute surrender.*"

M. Thuriot, an elector and a trusted leader, was now admitted to the fortress. De Launay received him with an air of *hauteur*, but listened attentively to what he had to say. "Sire," said the elector, "in the name of the people of France, I request you to retire your guns from the towers and to surrender the Bastile." Turning to the company standing in line he repeated his request. But De Launay was a jailer, with all that the term implies. He had grown wealthy at the expense of the unfortunates placed under his charge. Such men are always brave in the face of helpless men, but, when confronted by men armed with justice and the necessary weapons to enforce their demands, they are craven cowards. The Governor's conscience, or rather the remembrance of his acts of cruelty, and his inhuman avarice now rose up to torment him. He felt the antipathy of the people in every clamoring shout that reached his ears from without. He dared not trust himself to their mercy, and the only promise he would make was not to fire unless attacked.

Thereupon the elector withdrew, and in company with the committee, followed by a throng of people, retired to the City Hall (Hotel de Ville) to make his report.

The Place-de-Greve, in front of this edifice, now presented a strange sight. It was soon to become the central point of the Paris rebellion. On, the curious and excited crowd came, filling the large open space in front, pushing into the building, where, standing about the doors of the permanent committee room, they waited news of De Launay's decision.

In the meantime soldiers from the various regiments were beginning to fraternize with the people. These were taken and borne in triumph along the streets, while those who were suspected of undue friendliness towards the court were correspondingly roughly treated.

M. Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, who had offended some of the people by failing to keep his promise to supply them with arms, and who was thought to be in sympathy with the conservatives, presided at the committee meeting. His attempts to quell the tumult were answered with scoffs, and finally, his voice being drowned in murmurs of disapproval, M. Thusiot arose to speak. He was attentively listened to, his report in a measure calming the excitement around him. At this opportune moment the chairman, Flesselles, presented an address to the people, reiterating the peaceable intentions of the Governor of the Bastile. While Thuriot was reading the proclamation the booming of cannon was heard in the direction of the Bastile, and the cry of "Treason!" rose at once from a thousand throats. A few minutes later the crowd opened for a man wounded in the arm to pass, followed by a dying soldier of the French guard borne on a litter. The news was now carried from mouth to mouth that the batteries of the Bastile had opened upon the people with terrific effect.

This was the spark that set the fire ablaze. Had deceit been practiced upon them by both Flesselles and De Launay? Such appeared to be the fact from an intercepted letter written to the Governor by General Besenval, urging him "to hold the fortress as succor was near at hand."

The cry "To arms!" was now heard in every direction. Five pieces of artillery taken in the morning from the Hotel des Invalides still stood in front of the city hall. One of the electors stepped forward and called for men who could handle these guns. At the call a man pushed to the front wearing the uniform of a royal artillerist. "Who are you?" was asked by the elector. "Georget, gunner of the navy, *just* returned from America. Debarked a week ago at Brest; in Paris but a few hours.

LAFAYETTE KISSING THE HAND OF THE QUEEN UPON THE BALCONY OF THE CHATEAU AT VERSAILLES.

Seeing the confusion, I ran to The Invalides, took a musket and have since been hunting for General Lafayette, under whom I have served so long. I wait your orders. For liberty I risked my life in America; for liberty I will give my life to France!"

Cheer upon cheer answered these patriotic words. Four more gunners now stepped to the front. The enthusiastic people seized the gun carriages and whirled them down the street, leaving the committee to deliberate upon the advisability of dispatching another deputation to Governor De Launay. Deciding in the affirmative they hurried to the Bastile, but upon reaching the ground the smoke and noise prevented their being even recognized. The time for parleying had passed.

True to his promise De Launay had not fired until attacked. It was the people that opened hostilities. With the muskets they had taken from the Armory in the morning they began firing at the sentinels pacing the towers. To this harmless attack there was no reply. But when an ex-soldier scaled the outer guard-house, and with a hatchet cut the chain holding up the draw-bridge, which fell with a loud crash, the fusilade from the fortress began in earnest. Unheeding this fire the besiegers poured over the bridge into the outer court where they were received with terrific vollies of musketry and driven back. One of the principal leaders in the attacking party, Hullin by name, a Geneva watchmaker, seeing the impossibility of reducing the fortress by any other method than a regular attack, hastened to the barracks of the French Guards, and was received with open arms.

"We are all soldiers of a common country, said a young sergeant, stepping out of the ranks. Wherever the people are assailed we are for the people." This young republican, afterwards the celebrated General Hoche, was joined by another guard, Lefebver. These two, with

Hullin between them, followed by three hundred of the Guards, and two pieces of artillery, marched to the Bastile, amid the shouts of the people lining the streets.

These three men afterward became famous upon the pages of French history. Hoche died, it is said, of English poison, surrounded by his sorrowing troops, General-in-Chief of the Army. Lefebver, after twenty victories in the field, died Marshal of France and Duke of Danzig, while Hullin became a Lieutenant-General. The great Marceau, also, was one of the adventurous spirits now attacking the Bastile.

Upon the arrival of these French Guards, all the outbuildings of the fortress were found to be in flames. Every assault had been repulsed with shot and canister, killing and wounding many and dispersing the rest.

Elie, a fraternizing Sergeant of the army had brought up fresh reinforcements, and under his direction the cannon of the people soon responded to the cannon of the Bastile. Both soldiers and citizens now hurrying to the roofs of adjacent houses, soon succeeded in driving the men from the guns on the parapet; the cannons below were useless, as they could not be sufficiently depressed to reach the besiegers nearer the walls.

The struggle was an unequal one; but the moral weight remained with the attacking party. Men who at first had shrugged their shoulders at the desperate undertaking, now not only demanded the surrender, but the entire destruction of the detested prison.

From the very beginning, its defense by the veterans, who had been in daily intercourse with the people of the faubourgs, had been carried on half-heartedly. They were filled with surprise and consternation upon seeing the French Guards handling the guns of the people, and at last, without waiting for orders, hoisted the white flag;

but the smoke of the burning outbuildings prevented it from being seen by the besiegers.

Governor De Launay, fully understanding the desperate situation in which he was placed, and anticipating the fate which awaited him, when the dungeons beneath his feet were inspected, lighted an artillery match, approached the powder magazine—containing 150 barrels of powder—with the intention of blowing himself, soldiers, prisoners and the fortress to atoms. A sentinel perceiving his object, and lowering his bayonet against him, frustrated the attempt. De Launay then drew a dagger intending to commit suicide, but the knife was wrenched from his hand.

The commander of the Swiss company called to reinforce the garrison, now assumed the responsibility of surrendering the prison. Writing his conditions, namely, "The honors of war!" upon a slip of paper, he passed it through an embrasure.

"No; no arms in the hands of officers or men!" was the reply.

"That the lives of the garrison be spared!" was now asked.

This was promised by Hullin and Elie, the two leaders of the besiegers.

The other drawbridge was then lowered and the elated and victorious throng poured into the fortress. Into every nook and corner of this relique of royal barbarism they were soon peering.

Says Dussaloulx, "Like hungry vultures they threw themselves upon their precious trophy. Eagerly they search its depths and thread its sinuosities. Others feel their way along the dark staircases; mount the platforms, where they insult the cannons; break into the chamber of the council, where the creatures of royal power judged without law, and ordered executions without remorse.

Papers, whose formidable evidences against old and new despots, were discovered and fortunately saved, as signals of danger to future despots."

The supposition would be natural, that an outraged people, who for ten hours had been under the most intense excitement, exposed to the deadly fire of a soldiery, partially composed of foreigners, with a loss of more than two hundred killed and wounded, would not have stood long upon ceremony when the interior of the prison was reached, but rather, would have hastened to massacre the whole garrison, or at least the Swiss reinforcements.

But not so. With the exception of an old veteran, killed by mistake, not a soul there was harmed. Their thoughts were bent upon other things.

On they hurried to the towers in which were situated the dungeons and cells. From every mouth were heard cries and shouts for the turnkeys to come and unlock the doors. Where were they? They had mingled with the besiegers, to escape identity. As a last refuge, axes were brought, and the heavy, double doors of iron were burst open. With flambeaus these damp, cold sepulchres, nineteen feet below the level of the court-yard, were entered. Here were found piteous appeals cut in the slimy wall. Six prisoners of State are embraced and told to walk forth into God's light. The last door is reached. There is difficulty in breaking it down. Suddenly cries are heard from within. The force of the strokes are redoubled, and finally an opening is made. What is there seen? A frightened, delirious old man, with haggard face, a long, thin beard, and hair as white as snow.

When quieted he is questioned. He speaks softly the names of Louis XV., of Pompadour, the Duke de la Vrilliere. He is told "that all these despots are dead! that the reign of liberty and law has begun in France;

that the Bastile is in the hands of the people." With the smile of an imbecile the old man listens, but makes no reply, and soon resumes his seat upon the bed. Thinking his sudden joy and surprise may have dethroned his reason, they embrace him and carry him out to be cheered by his countrymen; but alas, it is soon discovered he is hopelessly insane.

This man, Tavernier, had been a prisoner ten years at the Marguerite Islands, and thirty years in the Bastile, and for what? It has never been known. Everything had been obliterated from his mind but the names of the three persons; the King, his mistress, and the Minister of State, who, undoubtedly, had been his persecutors.

Fourteen prisoners in all were found in the Bastile, seven of State, and seven supposed to be criminals, though not one had been tried or convicted by a court of justice, which raises the suspicion that none were guilty.

A procession was now formed—such a procession as the world, before nor since, has never seen.

In passing out of the second court a man from the throng, enraged at the spectacle before him, seized the queue of De Launay and tore it off.

"Ah, gentlemen," said he, addressing Hullin and Cholat, between whom he walked, "you have promised not to abandon me. Remain with me until I reach the Hotel de Ville."

"I shall keep my promise," replied Hullin. "Do you not see that we are protecting your life at the risk of our own?"

As self-appointed commander, Hullin succeeded in establishing something like order in this unnatural pageant.

At the head marched young Elie, with the printed rules of the Bastile fluttering from the point of his bayonet. Then came De Launay guarded as before described,

followed by his released victims, the garrison, the besiegers and citizens. Thus, advancing slowly, amid the deafening yells, the parrying of saber strokes, and bayonet stabs, they near the City Hall. Already three of the minor officers of the Bastile have fallen victims to the rage of the populace. The sworn protectors of De Launay, with the exception of Hullin, have been pushed aside.

To the Place De Greve, he is able to maintain his footing, though pressed upon from all sides. But in his anxiety to reach the first step of the City Hall, he stumbles and falls to the ground. His trembling prisoner is snatched from his grasp, and before Hullin can rise to his feet, the head of the abhorred Governor adorns a pike and is borne aloft from the steps of the City Hall.

The other officers of the Bastile being in immediate danger of being torn to pieces by the excited citizens, Hullin and Elie harrangue them from the steps, urging them to not disgrace the day by cowardly murdering unarmed men. Accordingly, with the exception of De Launay's death, two veterans and one officer, whose blackened faces showed recent service at the guns of the Bastile, no excesses were committed before the City Hall.

The Swiss soldiers and veterans, after taking the oath of fealty to the Nation, were taken to the quarters of the French Guards, and provided with lodgment and rations. In the meantime a deputation from the improvised tribunal in session at the Palais Royal had been sent to cite Provost Flesselles before it; he was requested to follow them without delay; he did so hesitatingly, but had hardly walked a square when he was shot dead by a young man in the crowd. This was the last victim of the day.

"The dense multitude crowding the City Hall did not wish for bloodshed," says Michelet. "According to an eye-witness, they were stupified on beholding it. They stared, gaping, at that very strange, prodigious, grotesque

MEETING PLACE OF THE JACOBIN CLUB.

and maddening spectacle. Arms of the middle ages and of every age, were mingled together—centuries had come back again. Elie, standing upon a table, with a helmet on his brow, and a sword, hacked in three places, in his hand, seemed a Roman warrior.

What was most admirable was the magnanimous conduct of the widows of those of the people who were slain at the Bastile. Though needy and burdened with children, they were unwilling to receive alone the small sum allotted to them—they shared it with the widow of the poor invalid who had prevented the Bastile from being blown up by De Launay, and was killed by mistake. The wife of the besieged was adopted, as it were, by those of the besiegers. Thus closed that glorious 14th of July, 1789."

CHAPTER IX.

THE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE FALL OF THE BASTILE.

While these momentous events were transpiring in Paris, the National Assembly, sitting permanently at Versailles, were fully aware of the revolutionary state of feeling which prevailed there among the lower classes. These were not effectively armed, and could make little resistance to the advance of the royal army into Paris. All they had dared and gained, was now in danger of being lost.

The day of the storming of the Bastile had been a day of anxious suspense and secret forebodings.

Late in the afternoon news of the surrender of the fortress and the assassination of De Launay was received. The scene changed as if by enchantment. The Assembly being justly enraged at the ministers, Mirabeau boldly demanded the head of the Duke de Broglie.

The King had gone to sleep. Being awakened by the Duke of Liancourt and informed of the capture of the prison, he exclaimed!

"Why, this is revolt."

"Sire," replied Liancourt, "this is revolution!"

Three deputies from the Assembly waited upon the King, but not until the following day did His Majesty consent to appear in the Assembly, when he informed the members that orders for the return of the army to Versailles had been issued, and defended himself against the suspicion of seeking to overawe the Assembly.

His assurances were applauded, and while being conducted back to the chateau, he was generously cheered

by the people. He did not tell them, however, that royal troops had been intercepting conveyances for the provisioning of Paris, both at Severs and St. Denis. The people of Paris were already clamoring for bread, and it was believed this was one of the details of the plan to bring the city to submission.

But, hungry as they were, they were fully determined that never more should king or queen, minister or prince be able to thrust into the foul dungeons of the Bastile, any citizen who had incurred their displeasure, or whom it was necessary the world should "forget."

With spikes and bars in the hands of a regenerated people, the work of casting stone after stone of the ancient pile to the ground beneath was begun on the 16th. With earnest hearts and dextrous hands its demolition was finally accomplished. (These same dumb blocks of granite were afterwards used in the construction of a bridge across the Seine.)

The destruction of the Bastile had for the time being put an end to all royal conspiracies. The King, surrendering at discretion, had even gone so far as to ask the Assembly to become the intermedium between himself and *his* people at Paris.

Accordingly, eighty-eight of its members were delegated to proceed to the capital at once. Lafayette, Bailly, Sieyès, and the Archbishop of Paris led the deputation. They were received at the barriere (city gate) by an immense concourse of people, and conducted to the City Hall. After many speeches and bursts of deafening applause on witnessing the congratulations between the heroes of the Bastile and those of the Tennis Court, Bailly was proclaimed Mayor of Paris and Lafayette commandant of the National Guards.

During the night, between the 16th and 17th of July, Count D'Artois, brother of the King, the Polignacs,

the Broglies, the Foulons, and some of the princes of the blood, took to their heels, under strong escort, and all, the Foulons excepted, succeeded in reaching the frontier. This was the signal for a general exodus of the *blue* blood of France. The flight was as timely as it was sudden. The anti-revolutionary conspiracy was now known to some members of the Assembly. M. de Breteuil's ultimatum—to destroy Paris and decimate the inhabitants if necessary to re-establish the old order of things—had been divulged; so, also, the plan of execution, namely, to attack the city on the night of the 14th, at seven different points, for which the regiments and batteries had been designated and the commanders subsequently appointed; to disperse the National Assembly and arrest the leaders of the Third Estate; to call the Parliament of Paris to register a royal decree for the suspension of payments and the creation of a new paper currency.

The retreat of Besenval with his army, on the night of the 14th, had frustrated the conspiracy, and hence the abandonment of the field and flight of the conspirators.

Before departing, however, and in order to escape the suspicion that the King had been cognizant of their treason, it was agreed that he should visit Paris, and throw himself upon the loyalty of his people, as he had done before with the Assembly. In pursuance of this plan, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 18th, His Majesty, accompanied by several hundred Deputies, set out for his Capital. He was met by Mayor Bailly, and slowly through the immense throng the cortage took its way to the City Hall. It was Paris in arms, either with muskets, pikes or swords that he saw. This strange reception of a loyal people seemed to completely overcome the King. Nevertheless they appeared pleased to see him. These good people still loved their King; no cheers, however, except "Vive la Nation!" greeted his ears.

At the City Hall, he was presented, by M. Bailly, with the three-colored cockade, which he was asked to accept as the distinctive badge of a Frenchman. He attached it to his hat and was loudly cheered. To the address of welcome, expressing unfeigned attachment to his person, he had no word of reply; but when taken to the balcony, where he stood for fifteen minutes, gazing at the multitude, the meaningless remark, "You can always rely upon my love," escaped his lips, for which he received the usual "Vive le Roi!"

Entering his carriage he returned as mute as he had come. Upon arriving at Versailles he was received by the Queen with unfeigned demonstrations of joy. Both had been favorably disappointed. The journey, undertaken with many misgivings, and as a desperate but unavoidable step, had not ended in harm to the head of the government. They were both thankful. The King had even been received kindly; the citizens had cheered him; he had returned to his family safely. "La Canaille fut appaisé!"

A Communal Council of sixty members was now elected; thirty members composed the Executive Board. This board, with Bailly as mayor and Lafayette as commander of the militia, constituted the new Municipal Government of Paris.

About a week after the razing of the Bastile, and when the excitement was still at its height, a most unfortunate circumstance occurred.

M. Foulon, a man of seventy-two years of age, was, perhaps, the most despised man in France. He had become immensely wealthy on contracts, as intendant of the army, usury, and in grain and other speculations. He was a favorite at court, as all wealthy men at that time were. Foulon had expected to be called to the ministry at the time Necker was dismissed.

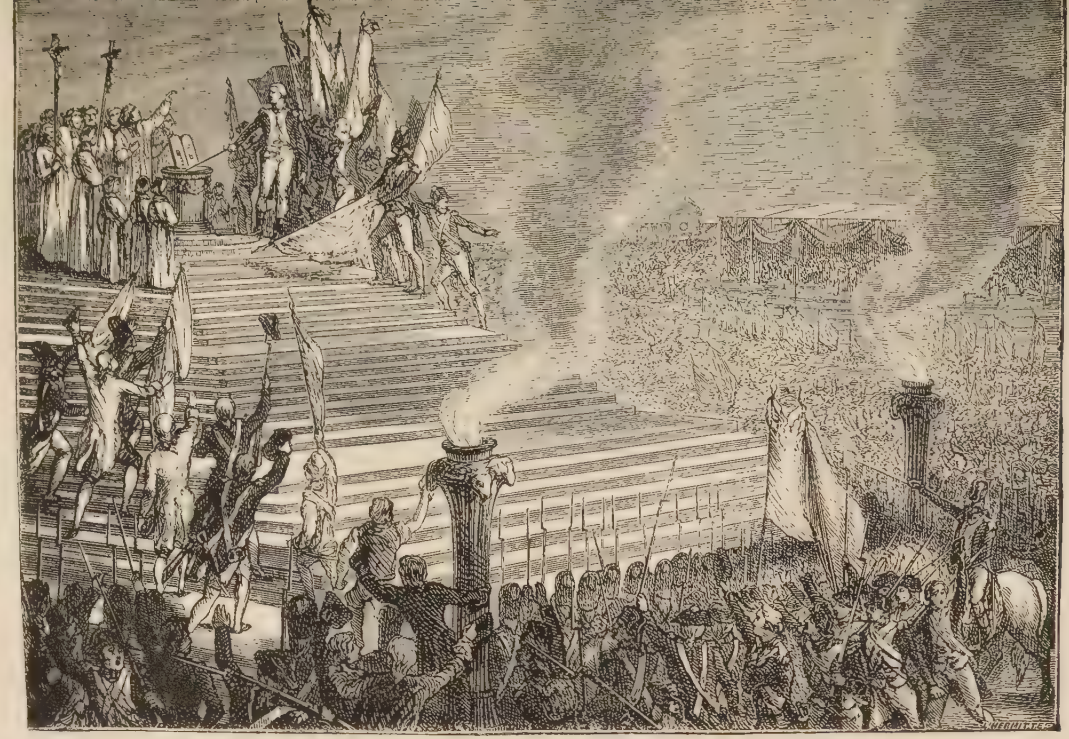
It was reported of him that, when told the people were hungry, he had exclaimed:

"Let them eat grass; if I were minister, I would make them eat hay."

He lived in a magnificent palace, and insolently laughed at the suffering he had helped to create. His son-in-law, M. Berthier, had been the king's tax-gatherer in Paris. At the fall of the Bastile, these two men, with guilty consciences, had fled, but, being discovered, were arrested and brought back, Foulon with a bundle of hay tied to his neck.

At sight of these two men, the hungry people became furious, and the efforts of Bailly and Lafayette to save them were without avail. They were slain and their ghastly heads borne upon pikes through the streets of Paris.

The summary and brutal massacre of these men was to be regretted. "But," asks Michelet of the English writers, such as Burke, who seized upon this incident to denounce the Revolution, "what would you have done—tell me, you officious advisors, who at your ease are sitting upon the dead bodies of Ireland, Italy, and Poland? Have not your revolutions of interest lost more blood than our revolutions of ideas?" However, this does not answer the question. The fall of the Bastile, if it meant anything, meant the downfall of arbitrary government in France and the rule of law. Acts of lawlessness, when committed by the people, were no less reprehensible than when committed by despotic authority. Under the conditions then prevailing, the escape of the two men from execution was impossible. The irregularity of the proceedings and their hasty execution, however, furnished the enemies of the revolutionary movement with a weapon to assail the cause. It gave new impetus to the reactionary sentiment, always active among the privileged classes,



CONFEDERATION FESTIVAL AT THE CHAMPS DE MARS, JULY 14TH, 1790.

and in a measure justified the feeling of regret at the loss of a strong government, expressed by the always timid bourgeois.

Therefore the murder of these two men, however much deserved, was a mistake; it was more than a mistake; it was a crime against a holy cause. The real friends of the people, both at Versailles and Paris, were of this opinion at the time. Lafayette was one of these; every means at his command he had made use of to save them, and in order to show his disapproval and indignation at such acts, he sent to Mayor Bailly a letter in which he said: "Having been put in the command of the militia of the capital by the confidence of its citizens, now, that their confidence in my ability to preserve order has been withdrawn, this being evidenced by the forcible taking of Foulon and Berthier from my guards and putting them to death, it becomes my duty to surrender a post in which to remain I must purchase public favor favor by unjustly yielding to its wishes."

This action of the popular general created consternation among the members of the municipality. A committee was appointed to represent to him the dangerous situation in which they were placed, the effect upon the royalists of such a hasty course, and the possibility of losing all that had been gained. Lafayette listened to their request, and, being earnestly devoted to the cause of the people, he was prevailed upon to remain.

The enthusiasm caused by the progress made at Versailles and the razing of the Bastile, spread like wild fire throughout France. But while the significance of the event brought hopes to the hearts of the toiling and oppressed, it also opened the door to the worst passions of hate and revenge. Hundreds of castles were burnt, many of the most obnoxious nobles, intendants of estates, and tax-gathers, fell victims to the fury of the peasantry.

The situation bears some resemblance to the period in the late war when Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation, with this difference, however, that the slaves in France belonged to the Caucasian race; had enjoyed the freedom of starving, and felt that retributive justice demanded the swift and condign punishment of some of their hardest task masters.

These French peasants hastened to the castles for the purpose of destroying the original charters, those primitive parchment documents, adorned with great seals and stored away in its turrets. No important feudal manor existed that had not its tower of archieves. The peasants went straight to the towers. There was their Bastile; there were preserved the instruments of tyranny, greed, and insolence which had blighted their hopes and made their lives the life of an ox, or a less tractable animal. These towers, of a barbarous age, had become objects of intense hatred, and repeated every morning what was recorded within.

"Work, work on, oh, sons of serfs; earn for another's profit, another's ease, another's happiness, until the clod shall cover us both." The day of reckoning had come at last. It had been long in coming. Their fathers and fathers' fathers had looked for it, dreamed of it, and now it had come. No more bowing of the knee and swearing to give up soul, body and mind to the grand seignior. These titles to human bodies must be destroyed. For weeks, incendiarism, devastation and murder were the daily events throughout the rural districts. Thousands of nobles fled to the cities for protection, or left France altogether.

"All this pillage and murder, however," says Michelet, "should not be charged to the peasants. In the confusion consequent upon loss of employment, the people driven by hunger from hamlet to village, from village

to city, these depredations against the lords should not alone be laid at the door of the domiciled peasantry."

Everybody was armed, and absolute anarchy was only prevented in the country by the prompt organization of municipal and National Guards.

CHAPTER X.

AUGUST 4TH, ABOLITION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—LAFAYETTE'S BILL OF RIGHTS.

The National Assembly at Versailles, which thus far had been engaged in formulating principles upon the "Rights of Man," now began to realize that it was the only authority which commanded the respect of the people and whose orders would be obeyed. It further keenly realized that famishing Paris must be relieved by immediate and vigorous action.

It was at first proposed to establish bureaus of relief and work-shops to keep the people busy—mere useless experiments.

However, on the 4th of August, 1789, one of the most memorable events in the history of France took place; an event, it is safe to say, unparalleled in the annals of any country. The Duke d'Aiguillon, next to Louis XVI., the wealthiest man in France, in a speech violently attacked the feudal system—the system of which he was the foremost representative. "Are these peasants," he asked, "who have been destroying our castles, really guilty? Let us remove the cause of their vengeance, and peace and harmony will soon prevail." This appeal, and the Duke's proposition to offer the peasant the privilege of purchasing his exemption from further feudal burdens at a moderate price, was received with cheers and bravos.

The Duke was followed by Leguen de Kerengal, who, in the same vein, said: "We ought to be just. Let these documents—monuments of our fathers' barbarity—be brought forth. Who among us will hesitate to throw his

infamous parchment upon the pyre of expiation? We have no time for dallying. Every moment occasions new cause for conflagrations. Shall we give laws only to France in ruins?"

This burst of patriotism electrified the Assembly. Members now vied with each other in generous offers to join in a movement for the abolition of serfdom; to do away with the collection of tithes; the corveé; seigniorial dues, exclusive game laws; the privileges and immunities of the nobility, and the sale of civil and military offices.

The wildest excitement prevailed. "Never did the French character shine forth more charmingly in its benevolence, vivacity and generous enthusiasm," says Michelet. "These men, who had required so much time to discuss the 'Declaration of Rights,' counting and weighing every sentence, now having an appeal made to their manliness, trod money under foot, and those rights of nobility, which they loved more than money, were swept away without a regret. Every thing now seemed finished."

At 2 o'clock in the morning the Assembly adjourned. That night saw the death of Feudality, not only in France, but the blow was struck which abolished the system throughout continental Europe. To commemorate this event a medal was ordered to be struck, and the title "Restorer of French Liberty," voted to the King. Louis accepted the compliment, but refused to sanction their generous act until compelled by the force of circumstances to obey.

Some dyspeptic writers, desiring to rob the French people of the honor of this Spartan deed, say it was merely the effervescence of an after-dinner party; in other words, that the members were very drunk. If they were, the wine they were made drunk upon ought to become the vintage of the world.

Sometime in July General Lafayette submitted to the

Assembly a "Declaration of Rights," of which the following is a copy:

"I. Nature has made all men free and equal; the distinctions which are necessary for social order are formed alone upon public good.

II. Man is born with inalienable and imprescriptible rights; such as the unshackled liberty of opinion; the care of his honor and life; the right of property; the complete control over his person, his labor, and all his faculties; the free expression of his opinion on every possible subject; the right of worship and resistance against all oppression.

III. The exercise of natural rights has no other limit than that necessary to secure their enjoyment to every member of society.

IV. No man can submit to laws, which he has not sanctioned, either himself or through his representatives, and which have not been properly promulgated and legally executed.

V. The principle of all sovereignty rests in the people. No body of men nor individuals can possess any authority which does not expressly emanate from the Nation.

VI. The sole end of all government should be the public good. That good demands that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers shall be distinct and defined, and that their organization shall secure the free representation of the citizens, the representation of their deputies, and the impartiality of the judges.

VII. The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform in their operation toward every class of citizens.

VIII. Subsidies ought to be liberally granted, (?) and the taxes proportionably distributed.

IX. As the introduction of abuses, and the rights of succeeding generations, will require the revision of all human institutions, the Nation ought to possess the power, in certain cases, to summon an extraordinary assembly of

Deputies, whose sole object it shall be to examine, and correct, if it be necessary, the faults of the Constitution."

It is easy to see, that in drawing this declaration, General Lafayette had that of the American Colonists before him, as, with few exceptions, it breathes the same spirit, if not expressed in the same words. Art. VIII shows how difficult it is for a nobleman, however liberal and enlightened, to emancipate himself from the paternalistic system of public administration.

Lafayette's proposed declaration was not accepted; but that of M. Mounier, which did not differ materially from his, after mature deliberation, was finally adopted.

Previous to the 4th of August, there had been no political division of the Assembly, the members being classed by orders. Now that these had been substantially abolished, they arranged themselves by parties.

The adherents of the ancient regime—the reactionists—took seats on the right side of the Hall, and were called the "Right," the constitutional monarchists occupied the center and were denominated the "Center," while the progressive members and Democrats took the left, and called themselves the "Left." In the course of events, further subdivisions took place, as the "Extreme Right" and "Extreme Left."

The most active of the members, and for the time being the most noted, were Abbé Sieyès, Barnave, Lameth, d'Espermeuil, Cazalès and the Abbé Maury, the last two representatives of the court party and higher clergy. Robespierre was then little more than an observer. "But conspicuous among all parties," says Carlyle, "stood the royal Mirabeau—above and beyond them all, this man rose higher and higher; he was a reality; his fame had reached all lands, and it gladdened the heart of the crabbed old "Friend of Man" (Mirabeau's father), before he died.

The picture drawn of his son by the elder Mirabeau, in

writing to a friend, showed the embryo statesman as he came to be.

"I have nothing to tell you about my enormous son, except that he beats his nurse, and is as ugly as the son of Satan."

At the age of five, the father again writes of him: "I have put him into the hands of Poisson, who is as attached to me as a spaniel, and I really thank him very much for the education he is giving the young monkey. If he makes a good and firm citizen of him, that is all that is necessary. With these qualities, he will make the race of pigmies tremble who assumes to play the part of grandees at the court.

A part is to be played to-night in a comedy by this young monster they call my son. If he were the son of the greatest actor he could not more naturally play the part of buffoon, mimic, comedian. His body grows, his babbling increases and his features are becoming marvelously ugly—ugly beyond all possible rivalship, and still more, he is a random speechifier. He is sickly, and if I were obliged to create a substitute for him, where in the world should I find one? His is a contrary, fantastic, impetuous, troublesome spirit, with a leaning to evil before he knows what evil is, or is capable of effecting any; a lofty heart under the jacket of a child; a strange, but noble pride; the embryo of a Hector in a fury, that wishes to swallow the world before he is twelve years old."

This roughly-affectionate picture drawn by Mirabeau of his son would answer for the full-grown man in many particulars. He was repulsively ugly, impetuous and troublesome to the end. He not only made the pigmies tremble, but the court itself. Whether he was a buffoon, a mimic, a comedian, or, under these guises, possessed a heart full of noble aspirations, no tongue can tell. His worst revilers were forced to admit that he was a man of extraordinary genius.

An English incognito biographer of Mirabeau says of him: "No adequate biographical monument has been raised to the memory of this man. I consider him an ill-used and misjudged man. His faults were the result of an improperly trained, a scandalously neglected childhood. The brutality with which the father prosecuted his son, after his attaining manhood, rendered him, to a great extent, responsible for the defaults of character of his offspring."

Mirabeau's father was a philanthropist, living on his estate near Nemours. He was the author of a work entitled, "A Friend of Mankind." As is often the case, the greatest lovers of mankind collectively are the worst tyrants individually; such proved to be the character of the elder Mirabeau; a proud and irascible man. His son was lame and strongly marked with the small-pox, owing to which imperfections, it is said, when placed in a military school in Paris, he was entered under an assumed name. At the age of eighteen he joined a regiment of cavalry, and having contracted some debts and lost some money at the gaming table, his father bought a Lettre de Cachet and imprisoned him in a fortress on the Isle of Ré. After a year's imprisonment the officers reported favorably of his conduct, and his father procured him a commission as Second Lieutenant in a regiment which was sent to Corsica. In 1772 he was allowed to return, also through the flattering reports of his superior officers, and assume his title of nobility.

Marrying a poor marchioness, he soon found himself in financial straits, from which his father refused to extricate him. Imprisoned in 1774 in the castle of If, his wife praying for his release, his father had him removed to a fort in the Jura Mountains. Being permitted occasionally to visit a neighboring town, he soon fell in love with the wife of an old magistrate, Sophie, marchioness de

Monnier. The enamored couple eloped to Switzerland, and from there to Holland, where Mirabeau tried to make a living by translations. He wrote a book on the Sale of Hessian Soldiers to England for Service in the American War.

In 1777 both were condemned by the tribunal of Pontarlier—he, sentenced to be beheaded, and she, to imprisonment for life. Mirabeau was imprisoned at Vincennes and Sophie immured in a convent at Gien. In his cell Mirabeau passed the time writing love-letters to Sophie (which was permitted, to keep him from committing suicide) and in preparing a work upon the *Lettres de Cachet.*

His father had intended to keep him in prison for life, but it being represented that his son was losing his sight and in a short time must die, to save the name of the family, he was liberated, after three years confinement. An interview held with Sophie led to a quarrel, whereupon the marchioness committed suicide. His first public appearance was at Aix in the legal proceedings instituted for the recovery of his wife. Though defeated, his plea made him a popular idol. Leaving for England, here he passed two years in literary work. Returning to Paris in 1785 he set to work to publish several pamphlets on financial subjects. During the four years previous to the calling of the States-General, Mirabeau, published no less than fifteen volumes. His *Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin,* written to keep himself from starving, was ordered to be burnt.

This was the man of great natural talent, made better by suffering, who now found himself as the acknowledged leader in the National Assembly.

The most numerous and influential party in the Assembly was undoubtedly the "Left," known as the liberal, or Constitutional Democratic party, of which Mirabeau, although independent of all, was the acknowl-

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edged spokesman. This party represented the views and aspirations of the bourgeoisie. This class has often been stigmatized as the class of selfishness and greed. But the bourgeoisie of France did not merely consist of shop-keepers and traders. As we have already shown, the most brilliant writers of the century, and almost all men of the liberal professions, the judges and public functionaries, belonged to this class, and, as Jules Grenier truly says: "The social role of the bourgeoisie was to elevate the lower classes. By the application of sound principles of political economy, the danger of class distinction could be avoided and the avenues to social and political distinction opened to all. The bourgeois class was the only one which could guarantee to the working classes enduring influence for their elevation; it was, also, the only one which had a meaning. The bourgeoisie commenced as a solvent of feudal society. It prepared the way for democracy. It would poorly understand its interests, were it to oppose that which it contributed to establish. It has better work to do. After its negative and dissolving labors, some positive work, and the work of organization. This remained to be accomplished, and the expression bourgeoisie should have no meaning but that of educated and intelligent Democracy." It was for this class to assume control of the government which an impotent, imbecile and corrupt despotism had relinquished. A voluntary and immediate acquiescence in the new order of things was not to be expected from the privileged classes that had heretofore wielded all the political power in the state. The material sacrifices they had made on the 4th of August, were not to be construed as a surrender of political power by any means. On the other hand, the representatives of the middle class failed in nerve, or did not, with few exceptions, rise to the necessities of the occasion. Mirabeau alone encompassed the situation with

his master mind, when he exclaimed: "Make an executive! Create an executive; until you do that your Constitution is nothing but a humbug, and your Rights of Man but so many words." As a writer pointedly remarks, "Mirabeau first aimed at establishing an executive founded on a parliamentary majority, but he was not seconded in his efforts by the representatives of the middle classes." Failing to obtain such an executive, through the Assembly, he turned to the King, first advising, and then urging him to appoint one and sustain him.

Louis XVI., however, had not advanced so far toward a constitutional monarchy, and the Queen was particularly hostile to the only man who could have carried out the reform—Mirabeau himself.

The middle class and their representatives being thus unprepared to act, the anarchistic mob and their leaders soon took affairs into their hands and gradually became masters of the capital, of the Assembly, and finally of France.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPOSURE OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CONSPIRACY. THE WOMEN OF PARIS MARCH TO VERSAILLES.

The Assembly went now zealously to work, endeavoring to formulate a constitution; they were building without a foundation, however. The Declaration of Rights and the Decrees of the 4th of August had not yet been sanctioned by the King. Not even a formal request had been made to that effect. The first great obstacle, which should have been removed, was the King's power of veto. As long as the King had the absolute power to destroy with his veto what the Assembly had formulated, so long was legislation useless. Abbé Sieyès opposed the veto; he defined it as a simple *Lettre de Cachet,* flung by one individual against the general will. It was defended by the adherents of the court with all the tenacity of despair. Singularly enough, Mirabeau, also, favored the King's absolute veto. Paris, however, was watching the proceedings with intense earnestness; the gamins of her streets even seemed to understand the situation much better than the lawyers and philosophers of the Assembly. To Paris the maintenance of the absolute veto meant the surrender of the present to the past. Happily, Lafayette was able to prevent an outbreak at this time.

A book, entitled *La France Libre,* written by the brilliant young Desmoulins, the same who, two days before the taking of the Bastile, stood upon a table in the Palais Royal inciting the people to arm — appeared at this time. He assailed royalty as the enemy to peace. The book created a great sensation.

The press, which, since the assembling of the States-General, had grown both in members and influence, could not be suppressed.

Among the many newspapers, which had been started since May, *Les Révolutions de Paris,* edited by M. Loustalot, a talented man, became the most popular. He made clear to the people the danger of the *Veto,* and daily demanded its abolition.

The reticence of the King and his refusal to sanction what had been proposed by the assembly had a meaning to those who understood the state of affairs. Checked in their conspiracies by the taking of the Bastile, the court and King still continued to plot. The Queen, under the leadership of the Austrian ambassador, was preparing the country for a second surprise, the details of which were published in the "*Revolutions de Paris,*" on the 22d of September.

According to this account, a plot had been matured by which the King was to be taken to Metz, the headquarters of General Bouillé's army; that the musketeers, the gendarmes, and nine thousand of the King's household, two-thirds of whom were noblemen, were to seize Montargis, where they would be joined by the Baron de Viomenii, who had served with Lafayette in America, but whose jealousy of the latter had caused him to cast himself vehemently into the party of the court. Eighteen regiments had not taken the oath to the Assembly; these were enough to block up all roads to Paris, cut off her supplies, and starve her malcontents. The court was not in need of money; they were assured of fifteen hundred thousand francs a month, and the clergy would supply the rest.

These reports were not "absurd rumors," as declared by some writers. Such extensive military preparations can not be kept under lock and key. The proposed flight of the King had been the theme of conversation in the

salons of Paris for a week before its publication by the "*Révolutions de Paris;*" the secret was confided to General Lafayette a month before by no less a personage than Admiral d'Estaing, commander of the National Guards of Versailles, while dining at the General's house. Paris became agitated; the removal of the King to a fortified place near the frontier, in the midst of a large army of reliable troops, who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the nation, commanded by an ardent supporter of the royal cause, signified not only civil war, but in all probability foreign invasion. M. Bailly, in his official capacity of Mayor, considered it his duty to inform his colleagues of the City Hall of the threatened danger, when a deputation, headed by honest old Dussaulx, was sent to Versailles to make representations to the King. Furthermore, Loustalot, the editor of the "*Révolutions de Paris,*" was not a trifling sensationalist, but a moderate, honest, and conscientious journalist, whose *nom de plume* "Prudhomme," is revered to this day in all France. In fact, he was one of the most disinterested pioneers of French liberty. The people of Paris knew him to be honest, they believed his statements to be true, and, what is more, future developments have shown they were, literally true.

On the 21st, the day before the publication of the plot, the King in replying to the request of the assembly, for his sanction of the decrees of the 4th of August said: "That promulgation belonged only to laws invested with forms which procure their execution." A firm and honest No! would not have created greater indignation than this evasive and equivocal answer. However, the assembly remained inactive. An event took place on the 1st of October which added fuel to the already kindled flame.

The Swiss and *Guardes de Corps* were desirous of giving a grand banquet to the regiment of Flanders, the

regiment which had been designated as "Guard of Honor" to the King on his flight to Metz. The fêté bore signs of an official character. "A military repast might have been given at the Orangerie or anywhere else," says the historian Michelet. But the King, (an unprecedented favor,) granted the use of his magnificent theatre, in which no fêté had been given since the visit of the emperor Joseph II. Wines were lavished upon the troops with royal prodigality. They drank the health of the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin: some one, in a low, timid voice, proposed to drink to the Nation, but nobody paid any attention to the request. At the dessert the grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders, the Swiss, and other soldiers were introduced. They all drank and admired, dazzled by the fantastic brilliancy of the fairy-like scene. The boxes of the theatre, lined with looking glasses, reflected a blaze of light in every direction. The doors open; Behold the King and Queen! The Queen walks round every table looking beautiful and motherly with the child she bears in her arms. All these young soldiers are delighted, transported with admiration. As she left the hall accompanied by the King, the band played the affecting air: "O Richard, O my King, abandoned by the whole world!" Several tore off their cockades and took that of the Queen —the black Austrian cockade—thus devoting themselves to her service. Those who had not the Austrian colors turned the tri-color cockade inside out, it appearing white, the color of the Bourbons. The music continued even more impassioned and ardent; it played the *Marche des Hulans,* and sounded the charge! All leaped to their feet and looked about for the enemy. For want of adversaries they scaled the boxes, rushed out, and reached the marble court." This memorable banquet terminated in a disgraceful orgie, during which the National emblem was made the principal object of raillery and insult by the

LAFAYETTE FIRING UPON THE PETITION SIGNERS AT THE CHAMP DE MARS.

drunken soldiery. On the 3d of October, the officers of the regiment of Flanders returned the compliment by giving a grand dinner to their brethren of the *Corps de Guardes*. Similar indecent scenes as those on the previous occasion were enacted. After gorging themselves with the delicacies of the season and filling themselves with champagne, they began to insult some of the invited officers of the National Guard of Versailles, inquiring how they could wear *such a uniform*. Remember, that while the court is thus feasting, Paris is famishing. Her children cry for bread, and mothers have none to give them.

The Assembly being informed of the disgraceful scenes, appointed a committee to look into the matter and to administer the oath to the body-guards, but apprehensive of trouble, they took no further step.

"Fancy," says Carlyle, "what effect this repast and trampling on the National cockade must have had in the *salle des menus* in the famishing Baker's-files at Paris. Yes, here with us is famine; but yonder at Versailles, is food enough and to spare! Patriotism stands in file shivering, hungerstruck, insulted by patrollism (Lafayette's National Guards), while bloody-minded aristocrats, heated with excess of high living, trample on the National Cockade. Can the atrocity be true? Are we to have a military onfall; and death also by starvation? For behold, the Corbeil-corn boat, which used to come twice a day with its Plaster-of-Paris meal, now comes only once. At the Palais Royal a new thing is seen: A woman engaged in public speaking. Her poor man, she says, was put to silence by his district; their Presidents and officials would not let him speak. Wherefore, she is here with her shrill tongue and will speak; denouncing while her breath endures the Corbeil Boat, the Plaster-of-Paris bread; sacrilegious opera dinners, green uniforms, pirate aristocrats, and those black Austrian cockades."

Sunday, the 4th, passed in sullen tranquillity, thanks to Lafayette's patrols, but female vehemence is irrepressible. "The public-speaking woman at the Palais Royal was not the only talking one. Men know not what the pantry is, when it grows empty; only house-mothers know this. O woman, wives of men, that will only calculate and not act! Patrollism is strong, but death by starvation and military onfall is stronger. Will guards, named National, thrust their bayonets into the bosoms of women?"

The women of the Faubourgs of Paris were now thoroughly aroused. It was charged that the Duke of Orleans, the King's cousin, had sent his agents into these quarters to stir up the people for an attack on Versailles.

The statement was also made that this female movement was the offspring of Mirabeau's fertile brain, in order to aid the King's flight. These men were not necessary to arouse the woman to a state of frenzy. As Carlyle says, "Men know not what the pantry is when it grows empty." For six months promises had been made that something would be done to re-provision these pantries. They had become impatient. Their movement was not preconcerted, but a spontaneous outburst against the dilly-dallying policy of the Paris officials, the assembly and the court. They were hungry, their children were hungry; their husbands had no work. Something must be done. They would do it. To see the King and tell him face to face of their troubles, this was the inspiration of their movement; no other.

Every demonstration on the part of their husbands and sons toward sending deputations of complaint to Versailles had been summarily repressed by Lafayette's National guards. The women, hearing the King was going to escape to Metz, exclaimed: "What will become of our starving children if the King leaves us? He must

not be allowed to depart; he must see that we are supplied with bread."

Such had been the teaching of feudalism. The King could give them prosperity! The men had been driven back by Lafayette's bayonets. His gallantry should be put to the test. Women are fertile in expedients. The French women had heard of the exploits of the American women—respectable women—in their struggle for independence. Was it to be supposed that General Scipio Americanus, as Lafayette was called, would ever order his guards to fire upon an assembly of women, and if he did, would he be obeyed? "Accordingly," says Michelet, "On the 5th of October, at seven in the morning, they heard the beating of a drum and could no longer resist. A little girl taking a drum from the guard house, was seen beating the generale."

It was Monday; the markets were deserted and all marched forth. On the streets the women hurried along with them, all they happened to meet, threatening to cut off the hair of those who were unwilling to join them. First they went to the Hotel-de-Ville. There a baker was just brought in who was known to have given false weight. The lamp-post was already lowered. Though the man was guilty, the National Guard allowed him to escape. To the four or five hundred women assembled, these guards now presented their bayonets. At the bottom of the square stood the cavalry of the guard. The women were undaunted. They charged upon both infantry and cavalry with a shower of stones. The soldiers, however, could not make up their minds to fire at them. The women, grown bolder, now forced the door of the City Hall, and invaded the offices. Most of these women, were dressed in white gowns for this grand occasion, and many were handsomely attired. They demanded bread, and some even asked for arms, as they were going

to Versailles to bring the King to Paris. At this opportune time, bailiff Maillard, who had distinguished himself at the Bastile, appeared among them and was forthwith elected their leader. Placing himself at the head of over seven thousand women, a few armed men and a company of volunteers, the procession moved out of the city.

As the day advanced, the women became hungry, and in passing the small towns between Paris and Versailles, it was only through Maillard's earnest protestations that they were kept from pillaging the bakers' shops. At Sevres they insisted upon having something to eat; a few pitchers of wine were found, and eight loaves of bread for 8,000 famished women. This divided among the most needy they march on.

When about to enter Versailles, Maillard persuaded them to place the cannon to the rear of the procession, in order to present as peaceable an appearance as possible. Upon reaching the Assembly Hall, the women insisted that the equal privilege of entering be accorded to all. This could not be permitted, and Maillard induced them to limit the number to fifteen. Heading this delegation he addressed the Representatives at some length, laying before them the desperate condition of the people in Paris. He, also, demanded from the Assembly the order requesting an apology from the Body Guards, for the insult offered to the National cockade at the banquet, and that the president, M. Mounier, accompany a deputation of women to lay before the King their complaints, and to insist that he sign the decrees of the Assembly and the *Bill of Rights*. In the mean time, the women thronged the streets, the rain descending in drenching showers.

Upon Lafayette's arrival at the City Hall in Paris matters began to look serious; it was evident that the people were determined to be obeyed. In his endeavor to allay the excitement, he became himself the object of suspicion.

The French Guards having already joined the people, the National Guards, his own troops, were now declaring in favor of going to Versailles, and demanding to be led by him. When Lafayette perceived that all resistance was useless, and also, that his refusal might culminate in open military revolt, he asked for an order from the Municipal Council; the order being granted, at the head of fifteen thousand men, the General set out for Versailles.

So much valuable time had been lost through the indecision of Lafayette, that the women were entering Versailles before he had started from Paris. Although the Royal dragoons were riding about and dispersing knots of excited people at Versailles, some of whom had been wounded, still no hostile demonstration had thus far been made by the women.

The deputation of women accompanied by Mounier now sought the King, who had just returned from a hunting tour at Mendon. Says Michelet: "The young girl Louison Chabry was charged by the women to speak for them; but her emotion was so great in the presence of royalty that she could only articulate 'Bread!' and fell to the floor in a swoon. The King, much affected, ordered her to be taken care of; but when about to depart, and begging to kiss his hand, took her in his arms like a father and embraced her."

Thus was her heart captured, and, upon leaving the royal presence, she ran into the street, exclaiming "Long live the King!" At this, the women waiting for her without became furious, and declared she had been bribed. Although turning her pockets inside out, they were not satisfied; tying a garter around her neck, she was promised suspension from strangling only upon condition that a written order was obtained from the King, removing every obstacle to the provisioning of Paris; appealed to, the King promised to do all he could to alleviate the suffering of the

people. To the President of the Assembly, however, with his usual disregard of its wishes, he coolly requested Mounier to return at 9 o'clock P. M. for an answer to his request to sign the decrees—time enough for the royal family to escape, as the post-chaises were all ready to start for Metz. But the Queen would not fly except in company with her family. Much precious time had already been lost, and a numerous mob of men from the faubourgs, led by the notorious butcher, Jourdan, known as *coupe-tête*, having arrived at Versailles, all thought of flight was now abandoned. This mob was made up of the off-scourings of the capital, which, for six months, had been the receptacle of every adventurer and cut-throat of France. This motley crowd, armed with old muskets, sabers, pistols, pikes, sticks and poles, now made the streets hideous with their threats of vengeance against whoever had insulted the National cockade.

The women were collected about the chateau of the King parleying and chaffing with the Guard. The center of attraction, however, was a handsome young girl named Madamoiselle Théroigne de Mericourt, who, sitting upon a cannon, from Paris to Versailles, had waved the tri-color flag at every person or house she passed.

Writers of royalistic penchant, have called this girl dissolute, but impartial criticism does not coincide with this view of her character. 'Tis true that in the country, she had been abandoned by her lover who belonged to the nobility; but it was not through any fault of hers. She is described as an emancipated, interesting, original, and picturesque woman. Dressed in riding habit, a tall hat placed jauntily upon her pretty head, and sword by her side, she strode among the more conservative of the throng, urging them to stand by the cause. To her credit is placed the prevention of blood-shed on this momentous occasion.

GENSONNÉ.

"Haranguing the Regiment of Flanders," says one writer, "she bewildered, gained them over, and so completely disarmed them, that they gave away their cartridges like brothers to the National Guards."

As reference to this ardent revolutionist will not be made again in these pages, the events of her life may be told in a few words. She was educated in a convent at Liége. An eloquent speaker, she was in great demand at the revolutionary meetings everywhere. In 1790, for alleged conspiracy against the Queen she was arrested and imprisoned in Tyrol. On her return to Paris after a year's imprisonment, being traduced by the journalist Suleau, she turned the mob upon him in August, '92, which act resulted in his murder. Befriended by Robespierre, she used her influence in disseminating his views until the spring of '92, when, a misunderstanding arising between them, the "Handsome Liégeoise," placarded the street of Paris denouncing her former friend; whereupon, she was mobbed, the effect of which dethroned her reason. She was taken to an asylum a maniac, and died there in 1817.

In the afternoon, notwithstanding the pouring rain at Versailles, several encounters took place between the Royal Guards and the National Guards, four of the former being killed and more wounded.

In barns and sheds the bedraggled and drenched women and men from Paris sought shelter for the night. Four thousand crowding into the Assembly room, made merry with the Deputies. At ten in the evening, the President returned to his coadjutors, holding in his hand the Bill of Rights, signed by the King, who having been warned that further delay in granting these rights might prove fatal to his crown, had at last signed the document.

At midnight, Lafayette and the National Guards arrived at Versailles.

Before entering the city, the National Guards were asked to renew their oath of fidelity to the laws and the King. Upon his arrival, the General repaired at once to the Assembly, and in addressing the members said:

"He lamented the disorder and jealousies which had compelled him against his judgment, to march at the head of the National Guards to Versailles, expressing at the same time his hope and belief that an apology from the *Guards du corps,* and the Assembly's adoption of the National cockade, would cause forgetfulness of the past and a good understanding in future."

The weather was cold, and it continued to rain with violence. The soldiers took refuge in taverns, coffee houses, under porticos, wherever they could find rest and shelter. Refreshments were distributed among them, and an appearance of good humor inspired the hope that all danger of tumult was over for the night, at least.

Lafayette, having sent word to the King of his arrival, and his desire for an audience, he was informed that "the King would be happy to see him, he having just signed his 'Declaration of Rights.'"

Lafayette gave such an account of the apparent tranquillity of affairs, that the King and Queen finally retired for the night.

Having made the necessary arrangements, appointed different guards and placed sentinels where he deemed it necessary, he again entered the National Assembly, giving them the same assurances that he had just given the King; whereupon, the members dispersed, and at about five in the morning the General himself, after visiting all the posts and finding everything perfectly quiet, thought it safe to retire to his quarters in order to write to the Municipality of Paris, and, if possible, snatch a few hours of repose. It must be stated, however, that none of the National Guards were allowed within the castle. Not

even the outside posts were entirely intrusted to Lafayette. The park was occupied by the King's body guards, and Lafayette himself states, that they stayed there until two o'clock in the morning, it is now supposed, to aid the King had he resolved to fly.

Maillard, the young girl, Louison Chabry, and many of the women returned to Paris that night, carrying back with them the signed decrees for the supply of grain, and the Declaration of Rights.

But the most turbulent spirits remained behind, and before daybreak a large crowd of these were gathered about the gates of the chateau. The demand was made for the King's return to Paris. At six o'clock some of the boldest scaled the gates, when one of their number being killed, a rush was made to the Queen's apartments; several of the Body-Guards, in attempting to stop the furious mob, were cut down, and being sorely pressed, retreated into an ante-room, barricading the door with the furniture. In the midst of the shouting, knocking, and terrible uproar, the cry of "Open, Body-Guards! Open!" was now heard from without. "Open, we have not forgotten the men that saved us at Fontenoy." The voice was that of the brave Sergeant Hoche, in command of the French Guards, now become a part of the National Guards under Lafayette. The door was opened and National Guards and Body-Guards fell into each others' arms, embraced and wept. It was a moment of intense excitement for the royal family. Frantic with fear, a petticoat covering her nakedness, the Dauphin in her arms, the Queen succeeded finally in reaching the King's apartment. Hearing of the onslaught made upon his Body-Guard, the King opened the door at the same moment the French Guards entered, saying, "Do not hurt my Guards." The danger, however, was over, and nothing

remained to be done but to eject the thieves who had begun to pillage the chateau.

In the court below a frightful spectacle was presented to view. The heads of two dead guardsmen were being carried about on pikes, while the mob had surrounded a number of others, threatening to massacre them. At this critical juncture Lafayette appeared on the scene, and prevented further atrocities. The General then entered the royal apartments alone, whereupon some one of the courtiers cried out, "A Cromwell!" to which Lafayette, turning, replied: "Sir, Cromwell would not have come alone."

The King now showed himself at the balcony, and was welcomed with "*Vive le Roi!*"

While Lafayette was endeavoring to quiet the terror-stricken family a tremendous shout rent the air. "The Queen, the Queen!" was heard from every side.

Lafayette, taking in the situation at once, requested the Queen "to show herself to the people." She hesitated.

"Be not afraid, madam, I shall accompany you," said the General. With her two children she hurried to the balcony. "The court below was in awful commotion," says Michelet; "Like a sea in its fury; the National Guards, lining every side, could not answer for the center; there were fire-arms, and men blind with rage. Lafayette's conduct was admirable; for that trembling woman he risked his popularity, his destiny, his very life; he appeared with her on the balcony, and kissed her hand."

The King was filled with alarm during this ordeal, but seeing that no harm had come to the Queen, he said to Lafayette: "Cannot something be done for my Guards?" They were still being shot at by the mob. One was brought forward, who took the oath, placed the National cockade in his hat, and kissed it. The shout immediately went up, "Long live the Guards! Long live the Queen!"

The demand of the people, however, that the King come to the capital, could not be resisted; consequently, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the royal family, in company with a hundred deputies, preceded and followed by the National Guards and a motley crowd of men and women, finally set out for Paris. Arrived late in the afternoon, the King was safely installed in the royal palace of the Tuileries. The assertion often made that the King and Queen were grossly insulted on the way to Paris, that the heads of the two slain guardsmen were carried in the procession, and flaunted before the eyes of the horrified Queen, has been authoritatively denied as the mere fabrication of partisan writers, whose imaginations are often drawn upon to intensify their pictures.

CHAPTER XII.

CONFISCATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY—THE FAVRAS CONSPIRACY—MIRABEAU ON BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S DEATH.

Ten days after the King's departure, the National Assembly also removed to Paris, minus, however, a hundred and fifty members, who, with President Mounier, had resigned, many leaving the country. This exodus of weaklings and obstructionists served the Assembly to such good purpose that from this time forth their work on the Constitution was earnestly pushed forward. The removal of the Assembly to Paris had the good effect, also, of bringing the members in immediate and daily contact with all classes of people, thus establishing a popular current and infusing new life into the proceedings of the Assembly; its political divisions however, now, became more pronounced. The more moderate members of the Left, such as Barnave, Lameth, and Dupont, soon joined the powerful Center, of which Mirabeau and Sieyès were the acknowledged leaders, leaving the Theorists and Extremists, such as Robespierre and Danton—a small but aggressive minority—to form what afterwards was known as the *Montaigne*, from the high seats they occupied at the extreme left of the hall.

The clubs where the members met their constituents soon became important factors in the growth of the Revolution. The mother club, or original organization, formed in opposition to the old feudal regime at Versailles, was now called the "Jacobin Club."

Upon the removal of its members to Paris, the club was installed at the old convent of the Jacobins. The

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name pleased its members, no longer exclusively Bretons, and the Jacobin Club soon became a powerful organization, not only in Paris but throughout France. As will be seen from its early membership, comprising such names as Lafayette, Sieyès, Bailly, the Lameths, the Duke of Orleans, with his son, Louis Philippe (afterwards king), it was not then the *rendezvous* of fanatical revolutionists of a later time. The Girondists, at first constitutional monarchists, controlled its proceedings for some time, after which it became the battle-ground of factions struggling for supremacy in the government. Later on in the progress of the Revolution, the Jacobin Club failed to meet the requirements of men holding such widely different principles and aspirations, and while not severing their connection with the mother club, "the birds of a feather naturally flew together," and the Dantons, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and others formed the *Club des Cordeliers.*

In May, 1790, Lafayette, Bailly, Sieyès, and Talleyrand organized the "Club of 89;" a highly reputable and conservative gathering, but too much above the common people to have much political influence; an organization which in our day would be called the "Democratic Silk Stockings." Thus, while throughout France the former inharmonious provinces were confederating through popular gatherings, festivities, and musters, Paris confederated through her clubs. They were the intermedium between the people and the Assembly, but subsequently were indebted for their power and influence, to the reactionists, who, by their systematic opposition to the progressive spirit which had taken hold of the Assembly and people, and their treasonable connection with foreign enemies, greatly increased the membership and activity of these clubs.

While the Assembly was in the throes of constitution-

making, the dreadful cry for bread was again heard through out the streets of Paris. There was no work and two hundred thousand beggars from the country had added to the wretchedness of the city's poor. There were no means of improving the national finances in the ordinary way, and yet, the people must not be suffered to starve, as long as there were well filled coffers and plenty of grain in the land.

We have seen that the patrimony of the clergy covered one-fifth of the arable land of France, estimated at four thousand million of francs. Barnave, Dupont de Nemours, and Alexander de Lameth, proposed and agreed, that it was perfectly lawful to appropriate ecclesiastical possessions. Hoping to escape total confiscation, the Archbishop of Aix proposed to borrow four hundred million francs on security of church lands, but this plan was rejected as humiliating to the Nation. On the 30th Mirabeau took up the question and held it up in a new light. "The clergy," said he, "are not proprietors but the stewards of these lands; seamen never appropriate to themselves the vessels which the Nation builds to defend the State; never, according to our existing customs, will an army divide among its soldiers the territories it has conquered. Shall, then, the clergy alone be permitted to say that the possessions acquired by its care of the faithful, are to belong to it, and remain indivisible instead of constituting a portion of the domain of the State? Is it not important that a more equal distribution of the riches of the Church should henceforth be made by those who are the stewards of the wealth of the poor?"

In a lengthy debate, Mirabeau followed up this view of the subject and submitted a formal decree, which declared that the ecclesiastical revenues were state property, provided the State furnished the necessary officers for public worship, and that such officers should receive yearly

salaries of not less than twelve hundred francs, quite a gratuity for the poor preachers who were then receiving the pitiful sum of three hundred francs a year, $60.

On the 2d of November, after a stormy debate in which Abbé Maury, the spokesman of the clericals, became violently excited, the decree was adopted by 568 ayes, against 346 noes.

The discussion and final adoption of this measure gave rise to violent protests on the part of the clergy, and attempts were made in different parts of France to raise the standard of rebellion against the Assembly. But the peasantry did not take kindly to the suggestion, and the more intelligent burghers of the towns threatened the bishops of their dioceses with dire vengeance should they attempt to nullify the decree of the Assembly.

On the 3d of November the ancient subdivisions of France were abolished by the Assembly, and the country reconstructed into eighty-three administrative divisions, called Departments.

Previous to this division France contained thirty-six provinces, which, with the exception of Foix and Roussillion, contained not less than half a million inhabitants each, who were more truly French in sentiment, and more homogeneous in customs and habits than were the American Colonies previous to the Revolution. Many of these populations spoke their own "patois" it is true, but they all spoke and understood the French.

Ever after the organization of a French standing army, the different provinces furnished their respective contingents. Under Francis I. this contingent averaged 6,000 men from each province, forming a Legion bearing the name of its province and officered by its own nobility; or, as has been aptly said, its own "prominent nobodies."

These provinces differed from each other, but not so

much in extent, as the States of the American Union; they, also, differed in rights, immunities and administration; so did the thirteen original colonies, but all these homogeneous elements notwithstanding, the Union was formed, with its National Constitution, its central administration, courts, and army and navy.

About this time Mirabeau sought an alliance with Lafayette (whom he disliked, but who, nevertheless, compelled his respect), with the intention of inducing him to join in a plan to give France a government after the English pattern, with Mirabeau as Prime Minister and Lafayette its military head. Lafayette favored a Constitutional Monarchy based upon the American Declaration, however, but he was decidedly opposed *"to private understandings in matters of national affairs."* The conference, therefore, came to nothing. Mirabeau was disappointed and resorted to the boyish practice of calling names. To Lafayette he applied the sobriquet, "Pompous Cromwell," doubtless because the General had not taken advantage of his popularity to become dictator, at Mirabeau's suggestion.

Mirabeau's ministerial aspirations had not escaped the notice of the Assembly, consequently on the 7th of November it was decreed that no Deputy should hold office. From that moment, says an English author, began his long series of "flirtations" with the court, which lasted until his death.

"Flirtations" is a convenient word in the mouth of a zealous biographer; it does not, however, explain the fact that Mirabeau received princely subsidies from the court, which, in our day would be called bribes.

On the 21st of November the Assembly was informed of a second plot to carry the King to Metz, and on the 25th of December the Marquis de Favras was arrested, charged with being the main instigator of a conspiracy to assas-

sinate Lafayette and Bailly, with a view to overthrowing the Assembly and carrying off the King. Monsieur, the King's oldest brother, and the Queen herself, were strongly suspected of complicity in the plot. The guilt of Favras having been fully established, he was sentenced to be hung.

In the hope of saving his own life, he offered to furnish the names of his co-conspirators; but the court trying him, having been tampered with by parties high in authority, refused to accept the Marquis' confession as the price of his acquittal, and he was executed on the 19th of February, taking his secret with him. The circumstance, however, that on the Sunday following the execution the widow of Favras and her son dined with the King and the Queen, confirmed in the minds of the people the horrible suspicion of the Queen's complicity in the plot. Another conspiracy, devised by the Count d'Artois, having the flight of the King in view, was discovered in March.

Thus, the people, who fancied the King to be in full accord with the Assembly, and of having accepted the new order of things in good faith, were kept in a constant state of agitation. Was it to be wondered at that alarm and mistrust took the place of confidence, that the Tuileries began henceforth to be watched by an anxious multitude, to see whether the King, their chief commissary, was still there, or whether he had flown. This condition of general uneasiness and mistrust increased to a state of morbidness. Faith in public men had received a shock. "Mirabeau had betrayed them, and Lafayette had transformed the National volunteer-soldiery into a Prætorian guard."

The year for which the Assembly had been chosen was drawing to a close, and the question now arose, shall the Assembly, at the expiration of its term, dissolve? The royalists, hoping for the opportunities an interregnum

might offer to carry their schemes into effect, their best orators and debaters were pushed to the front to insist upon dissolution. Gazales, their principal speaker, asked the Assembly whether it considered itself the National Convention? This startled Mirabeau, and the crushing answer he gave him stands forth as one of the most brilliant efforts of parliamentary oratory.

"You ask," said he, "how, being deputies of bailiwicks, we have made ourselves a convention? I will answer: The day when, finding the door of our assembly-room shut, bristling and defiled with bayonets, we hastened to the first place that could be found to hold us, and there, swore to perish rather than surrender our rights, on that day, if we were not a convention, we became one! Let them now go and hunt from the useless nomenclature of civilians, the definition of the words *National Convention!* Gentlemen, you all know the conduct of the Roman who, to save his country from a great conspiracy, was obliged to overstep the powers conferred upon him by the laws. A captious tribune required from him the oath that he now respected them. He thought by that insidious proposal to leave the consul no alternative but perjury, or an embarrassing avowal. 'I swear,' said the great man, 'that I have saved the Republic!' Gentlemen, I swear also, that you have saved the Nation!" Mirabeau's eloquent reminder of the oath of the Assembly at the Tennis Court, "never to dissolve until a constitution was formed," made such an impression that a decree embodying these very sentiments was adopted at once. The court, which had relied on Mirabeau's support, was checkmated once more. The intrigues of the Queen with her brother, Emperor Leopold of Austria, in the affairs of Belgium, had culminated in serious complications with England, and war was expected. The King having notified the Assembly that he was arming a fleet, the question

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arose, "Shall the power to declare war remain with the King?" The debates over this subject grew exceedingly acrimonious, and the clubs having taken part in the discussion, all Paris was soon found upon the one side or the other. Mirabeau's course in defense of this royal prerogative, was severely criticised, and his secret alliance with the court, as well as the amount he was receiving from the royal exchequer, soon became the gossip of the town. In consequence of these rumors Mirabeau was violently assailed on his way to the Assembly. He saw his danger, and by a masterly retreat and a brilliant oratorical effort, in which he alluded to a supposed king, who, having betrayed his people by leaving his country, returned with an army of Frenchmen to repossess himself of the citadel of tyranny. With this reference to possible emergencies, he succeeded in drawing the fire of the royalists upon himself, and thus removed the suspicion that he was their secret ally.

From the King's absolute prerogative of making war, which Mirabeau had at first advocated, he retreated to the less objectionable position of allowing him the right to *prepare for war* and *direct the forces;* also that the King inform the Assembly, when, in his opinion, war should be declared, but the final action of the Assembly must receive the sanction of the King.

The Assembly gave these modified views of Mirabeau the form of a decree. His genius had thus secured a triumph, but the man never recovered the prestige which this hostile demonstration of the people had cost him.

To recompense him, perhaps, the Queen soon after accorded him an interview.

In a secluded spot at St. Cloud they met. Mirabeau was diplomatic, and Marie Antoinette reserved. At the close of the conference the anxious Queen allowed her champion to kiss her hand, at which Mirabeau is said to

have exclaimed enthusiastically and authoritatively: "Madam, the Monarchy is saved!" Who can answer for a Frenchman's politics in the presence of a charming woman! This interview took place in the latter part of May, 1790.

On the 11th of June news reached Paris that the American patriot, Benjamin Franklin, had died at Boston, on the 17th of the preceding April. Mirabeau, who had been one of his admirers, appeared in the tribune of the Assembly, and pronounced, to a silent and sympathetic audience, the following elegant eulogium:

"Franklin is dead! Returned to the bosom of Divinity is the genius which freed America and rayed forth upon Europe floods of light.

"A sage, whom two worlds alike claim! A man, for whose genius the history of science and the history of empires will contend! A man, who had a most elevated rank in the human race.

"Long enough have political cabinets notified the world of the death of those who were only great in their funeral orations! Long enough has court etiquette proclaimed these hypocritical mournings! Nations should only wear mourning for their benefactors. The representatives of Nations ought only to pay homage to the heroes of humanity.

"Congress has proclaimed that in the thirteen States of the Confederation two months of mourning shall be observed for Benjamin Franklin. At this very moment America is paying this tribute of veneration to one of the fathers of her Constitution.

"Would it not be in keeping with us, gentlemen, to join them in this religious act; to participate in their homage offered to the defender of the rights of man, and to the philosopher? Antiquity would have been satisfied only in raising altars and monuments to his vast and powerful

genius; a man whose aspirations for the elevation of mortals, sought and obtained that knowledge which tamed tyrants and took away their thunder-bolts. France, enlightened and free, owes an expression of remembrance and regret to the memory of one of the greatest men that ever advanced philosophy and aided liberty, I, therefore, propose it be decreed, that the National Assembly wear mourning for three days in honor of Benjamin Franklin!"

The decree was passed unanimously and not only did the Assembly honor the memory of the great American and friend of French liberty, but the people were still more demonstrative in their declarations of respect.

By way of contrast, not a hundred years after, the American Senate is found refusing to render a similar act of homage to the memory of a man who was quite as conspicuous in his friendship and efforts to preserve American liberty, to-wit, John Bright, the English economist and philanthropist.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FESTIVAL OF CONFEDERATION.

On the 19th of June, 1790, the Assembly had advanced to a state when the time appeared ripe for a decided step forward. The decree abolishing all titles, prohibiting the use of heraldic insignia, blazoning of arms, liveries and all other medieval paraphernalia denoting superior rank had passed.

The time for celebrating the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastile was drawing near, and for the moment, the public mind seemed diverted from the proceedings of the Assembly. A reverential sentiment appeared to have taken possession of the hearts of the people.

The Municipality of Paris having received numberless appeals from all parts of the country to arrange for a general confederation of the French people, the National Assembly was prevailed upon to issue a decree inviting all Frenchmen to come and fraternize at a fêté, as the people, the National Guards, and the regular troops of Paris had fraternized for the destruction of despotism on the 14th of July, 1789.

The inhabitants throughout France having broken down all barriers of caste were now united. The burghers of cities and the rural people uniting for common defense, at a time when the sudden overthrow of ancient orders threatened the country with anarchy, by this act had strengthened the bond of interest between them. Every citizen was armed. Commanders were chosen by the Communes, and methods similar to those employed by the

American frontiersmen for security against lawless marauders were adopted.

They, also, had had frequent fraternizing festivities, the inhabitants of one city meeting with those of another, and those of one province with those of another, the citizens of which had been almost foreigners before. These touching reunions consisted not only of men, but the young girls, children, and mothers formed the most interesting part of these gatherings.

"Everywhere an old man was put at the head of the people," says Michelet, "sitting in the first place, and presiding over the crowd. Encircling him, like a garland of flowers were the girls of France. In all these solemnities, this lovely band dressed in white with tri-colored sashes remained at his side. The Dauphiné, that serious and valiant province which had opened the Revolution, made numerous confederations within the whole province. The rural communes, nearest to Savoy, and close to the emigrants, tilling the ground, with their guns near at hand, had still better festivals; a battalion of children, another of women, another of maidens, all armed, had been formed here.

"Women are kept back from public life, and people are apt to forget that they have really more right to it than any. The stake they venture is very different from ours; man plays only his life; but woman stakes her children. She is far more interested in acquiring information and cultivating foresight. In the solitary, sedentary life which most women lead, they follow, in their anxious musings, the critical events of their country, and the movements of their armies. The mind of this woman, whom you believe to be entirely absorbed with her household duties, is wandering in the field, sharing all the privations and marches of the young soldier, suffering and fighting with him. Whether invited or not, they took the

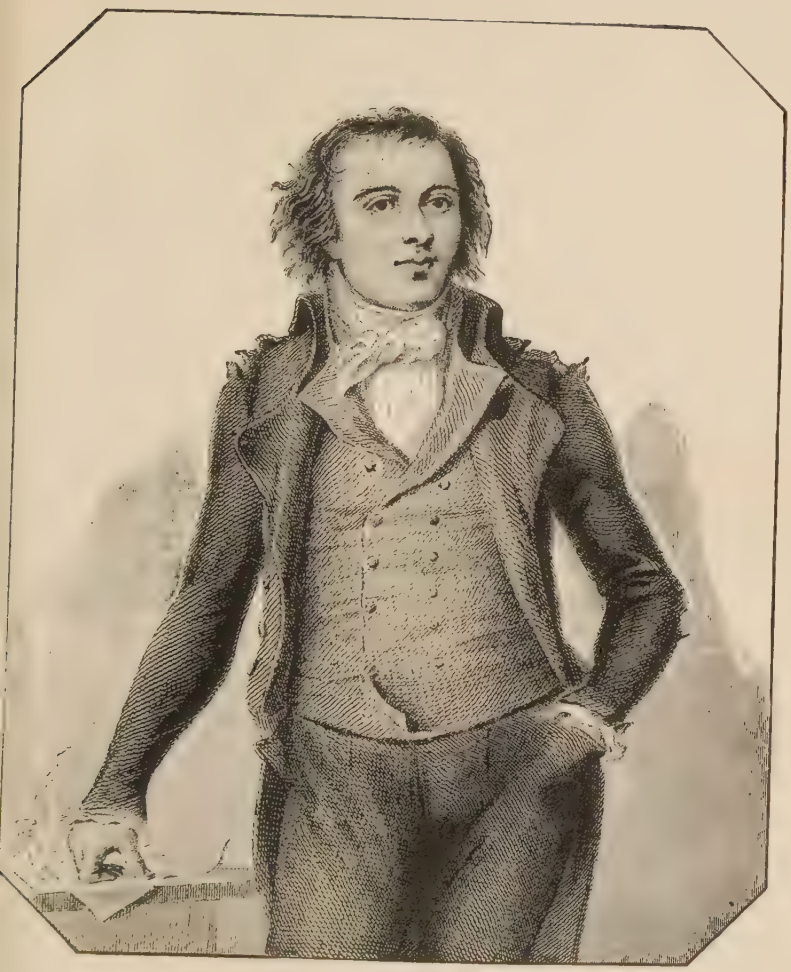
most active part in the fêtes of the confederations, as the American women had done a few years before. In some village or other on the day the delegates were to be chosen, the men assembled in a large building, to formulate a common address to the National Assembly. The women soon drew near to listen; then to enter, and, with tears in their eyes, to entreat to be allowed to join them; the address being read, they agree to it heartily. This affecting union of the family in the affairs of the country filled every heart with an unknown sentiment."

The call of the Assembly for a National confederation was thus cheerfully responded to. Streams of deputations from the remotest parts of France were soon wending their way toward Paris, singing:

> "Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse rèpète—
> Ah! ça ira! ça ira! ça ira!"

and receiving the generous hospitality of the people as they journeyed on.

As the great day drew near Paris became wild with enthusiasm. The joyous city put on her best attire to receive her guests from the country. Preparations of unusual magnitude were in progress at the Champ de Mars, that the festival be as grand and imposing as possible. Twelve thousand laborers were set to work to construct elevations, seats, and shelter, for the reception of 400,000 people. In the center of the extensive grounds a high mound was thrown up, upon this was erected an altar of antique construction, approached by many steps, surrounded by an amphitheater for the accommodation of the King, the National Assembly and the Municipality of Paris. The workingmen seemed not to progress satisfactorily, and fearing the preparations might not be perfected in time, the people of all classes and of both sexes, streamed to the Champ de Mars to render the necessary



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assistance. The immense work, which converted a plain into a valley between two hills, was performed in precisely seven days. The thousands upon thousands of visitors who were pouring into the city received a hearty welcome.

The city was overflowing. The delegates were hospitably cared for by the citizens. "When the Bretons," says Michelet, "those eldest born of liberty, arrived, the conquerors of the Bastile advanced as far as Versailles to meet them, and, after mutual congratulations and embraces, the two bodies united, and, forming one, marched back to Paris. Every heart expanded with the unknown sentiment of peace and concord; the journalists ceased wrangling, the Assembly, composed of warring factions, itself seemed gained over by the universal enthusiasm." It was to be a celebration vying with the American celebrations of July 4th, 1776.

The day arrived at last. The heart of longing France beat high. The National Guards and many of the people had encamped near the grounds the night before in order to be ready to do the honors of the day with freshness and fervor. As the morning advanced rain began to fall. "The weather is aristocratic," shouted the people as they poured out of the houses, inns and halls of the city to witness the grand procession.

Starting from Bastile square under the roar of artillery, the great concourse watched the forming of the line, rending the air with loud cheers. A battalion of children was placed at the head and a battalion of veterans closed up the rear of the procession. Reaching the Tuileries the Court and National Assembly were placed in the center. Flags were flying, bands were playing and the people thronged the streets shouting.

Upon reaching the grounds the sight was grand to behold. Three hundred and sixty thousand people had gathered there to fraternize, to ratify the decrees of the

Assembly looking toward the freedom of France. The dignitaries ascending the steps to the altar, the proceedings of the day were opened by Abbé Talleyrand, (very ominous,) who read mass and blessed the flags of the eighty-three departments. Then came General Lafayette, who had been nominated Chief Marshal of the day, and appointed by the Assembly, General-in-Chief of the National Guards of France, and standing upon the altar in the name of his troops, swore fidelity to the Nation, to the laws and the King, after which he turned to the people, and reading the formula, four hundred thousand people repeated in concert, "I swear it!"

The artillery thundered forth a grand salute; the King now arose, and in the hush of an impressive silence swore fidelity to the Nation, and to loyally respect and maintain the National constitution. The Queen, raising her child, exclaimed: "Here is my son; we both are in sympathy with the sentiments of the people." This trusting people, believing their generous impulses were reciprocated, had faith in these solemn protestations of their Majesties, and tremendous shouts of, "Vive le Roi!" "Vive la Reine!" "Vive la Nation!" went up in testimony of that faith. They not only trusted the King and the Queen—they earnestly hoped and fervently believed this great federation of hearts to be the final settlement, the closing scene in which many privileges had been gained and from which much happiness would come to the people. As the evening hours of that memorable day closed in, hundreds of thousands of new-born Frenchmen walked the streets, embraced, hurrahed, and sung, "Ça ira!" (It goes).

On their homeward journey, day and night were but one continued scene of joyful exuberance.

At every village, in every city, they were received with acclamations of joy, and the best that cupboard and cel-

lar afforded was set before them. They enjoyed themselves as only Frenchmen can enjoy themselves, and not with icy, speculating soberness, and the grave, sabbatarian mien of Englishmen. Says Carlyle of this great fraternizing celebration:

"Never, or hardly ever, was oath sworn with such heart effusion, emphasis, and expenditure of joyance; and then it was broken irremediably within a year and day, but why? When the swearing of it was so heavenly joyful, bosom clasped to bosom, and five and twenty million hearts all burning together—O, ye inexorable destinies, why? Partly, it was sworn with such over-joyance; but chiefly, indeed, for another reason: That sin had come into the world, and misery by sin! These five and twenty millions, if we will consider it, have now henceforth, with that Phrygian cap of theirs, no force *over* them, to bind and guide."

In this instance the great author is mistaken. These twenty-five million souls were not the helpless, unstable, and frivolous beings, who, if left to themselves, would dance toward perdition. For the year past, and when red-handed anarchy, and roving bands of malefactors, threatened life and property, they went to work and organized their Communes, and Justice Courts, and armed *posses* for mutual protection; they had governed themselves without any force save their own free wills and stout hearts, and with no one to guide them but their honest convictions; or, as Mr. Carlyle rightly puts it: "*Authorities are not idle;* though, unluckily, all authorities, municipalities, and such like, were then in an uncertain, transitory state; *getting regenerated from old monarchic to new democratic.* Nevertheless, Mayors, old or new, do gather guardsmen, National guards, troops of the line, and justice of the most summary sort is not wanting."

There was no more danger of French authorities and municipalities, in regenerating from old monarchy to new democracy, moving backward, than there had been for American municipalities, in their transitory state, to fall into anarchy. The French people were fully competent to take care of themselves; they intended loyally and conscientiously to keep and stand firm by the new political covenant their delegates had sworn to at the great Fraternization; but royalty, as if ordained by inexorable destiny, was to break its oath.

The French people saw no inducement to break it; their own welfare required it should be sacredly kept. Absolutism had been dethroned; the feudal system, hereditary titles, prerogatives of every description, and all political inequality between all classes had been abolished; the supreme power of legislation was now placed in their hands; what possible incentive could these Frenchmen have for breaking their oath? Absolutely none. No; the people were satisfied with what they had gained, and all they asked for was to henceforth peacefully enjoy the fruits of their own labor.

Michelet, probably the keenest dissector of the impulses and motives of his countrymen, of all the historians of the Revolution, gives the following pathetic description of popular sentiment in France, during this trying epoch:

"Candor and credulity," says he, "was the character of the first revolutionary age, an age which has passed never to return. An affecting history, which no one can read without shedding tears. So childish, so easy to be deceived! and duped to such a degree! no matter; true Frenchmen will never repent of having been the confiding and merciful people they were proven to be.

The disturbances inseparable from so great an overthrow, have been purposely magnified, and complaisantly exaggerated from the impassioned accounts which

our enemies received and solicited from all who had suffered.

In reality, only one class, the clergy, was able with any appearance of truth to call itself robbed. And nevertheless, the result of that spoliation was, that the great bulk of the clergy, starved under the old system for the emolument of a few prelates, had, at length, a comfortable livelihood.

The nobles lost their feudal rights, but in many provinces, especially in Laguedoc, they gained much more as proprietors, in no longer being obliged to pay tithes, than they lost as lords of the manor with feudal rights.

Though divested of the Gothic and ridiculous honors of fiefs—now become an absurdity—they had not fallen in the social scale. The true honor of citizenship (of which the majority were hardly worthy)—the highest places in the municipalities, and rank in the National Guard—was bestowed upon them with blind deference, in most every province.

This was excessive, imprudent confidence. But the new generation, throughout the infinite prospect which the future afforded, haggled but little with the past. It asked the other only to *let it go and live.* Immense was their faith, their hope. All these millions of men, serfs only yesterday, and now men and citizens, summoned in the self-same day, all at once, from death to life, these new-born infants of the Revolution were arising with an unheard-of abundance of strength, good will, and confidence!

What hope, what love in that happy year! During the confederation period, marriage—that most natural confederation—went on multiplying. It is an extraordinary fact that marriages were one-fifth more numerous during that glorious year of hope.

Ah! that great movement of hearts promised some-

thing more—a far different fecundity. Fruitful in men and laws, that moral union of the soul and the will led the people to expect a new dogma, new and powerful ideas, both social and religious. At the mere sight of the field of the Confederation, everybody would have sworn that, from that sublime moment, from so many pure and sincere desires, from such an effusion of tears, and from the concentrated ardor of so many fervent prayers, *a God was about to rise.*

All saw and felt the divine sentiment. Even the men the least favorably disposed toward the revolution started at that moment, and perceived a glorious advent approaching. Our wild peasants of Maine and the marshes of Brittany, whom through furious fanaticism were about to turn against us, came of their own accord full of emotion to join our confederation and to kiss the altar of the unknown God.

Such was the infinite spirit brooding over this people, when, at noon on the 14th of July, they raised their hands to heaven. On that day everything was possible. Every kind of discussion had ceased; there was no longer either nobility or serf; there were but citizens; a people.

There was nothing one would think of to prevent the social and religious change of the Revolution from being realized.

Magnanimous instincts had burst forth in every class which simplified everything. Difficulties indissoluble before and afterward, were then resolved of themselves. In October, 1789, there was reason to fear the bulk of the rural electors might serve the aristocracy, but this fear had disappeared in July, 1790; for the peasant then obeyed, in almost every locality, the impulse of the Revolution, with as much zeal as did the town populations.

BARBAROUX.

CHAPTER XIV.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CONSPIRACIES.

"Oh hostile fatality," exclaims Michelet, "which checked the delivery of France. Whom must we accuse? Who are to be charged with the crime of this miscarriage?" With a frown he turns toward England and from thence to the French clergy. Partially, yes, both are responsible; but too much confidence in the King and not enough in the common people were the principal causes of the future mischief. Two parties swore at the great feast of Liberty to stand by Fraternity and Equality; but one only really intended to keep its oath. There is ample proof at hand to convict one of the principals to the contract with its willful violation.

It is known that the very night before the celebration, Bonne de Savarin, the secret agent of the court and author of the plot to introduce a portion of the army of the emigrants into the city of Lyons, and whose confessions might prove fatal to the royalists, was spirited away from the abbey, where he had been imprisoned, to be tried for his life. Again, it is no secret that immediately after the 14th of July, plans were devised by some of the royal Deputies to rob the people of the fruits of their peaceable victory. As early as the 18th it was decreed by the National Assembly that the National Guard, at first made up of all good citizens, should be uniformed; the simple tri-colored riband which designated the service not being considered sufficiently pretentious. This order, as it was expected, had the effect of disarming the poor, since the designated uniform was too expensive a luxury to be indulged in by

this class. This measure was as injudicious at the time as it was unpopular, because it furnished the revolutionary clubs, notably the Jacobins, with the most plausible arguments for thorough organization of the poorer classes all over the country. In less than two years two thousand four hundred of these clubs, in as many towns and villages, become connected with the original club at Paris. Another cause of popular alarm was the circumstance, that while the Assembly divested royalty of many of its prerogatives, the sword was still left in the hands of the King. He, as before, could prepare for war and direct the National forces. This he proposed to continue to do. As early as January, 1790, the minister of war had written the commandants of the fortresse of Lille, in Flanders, "Just forget us and consider us as nothing, and soon we shall be everything."

"Dimly visible at Metz," says Carlyle, "on the north-eastern frontier, *last refuge of royalty in all straits and meditations of flight*, a certain brave Bouillé had for some months hovered: his position and procedure there will soon throw light on many things. The Marquis de Bouillé, one of the four appointed superior generals, was a determined loyalist, who had refused to take the National oath. There, at his post he silently waits, with no clear purpose in his mind but this—to still try to do his majesty a service."

Bouillé himself admits, in his memoirs, that he left "nothing untried to set the soldiery and the people in opposition to each other and to inspire the military with hatred and contempt for the citizen."

Says Carlyle, "Bouillé always struggled and hoped for the best; not from new organizations, but by *happy counter Revolutions*, to finally be able to return to the old order of things. It was clear to him that this National Federation, with its universal swearing, and the fraterniz-

ing of the people and soldiers, had done *incalculable mischief.*"

And what was the attitude of the Court, two short months after the King and Queen had taken the oath to be loyal to the people of France, to support and respect their new constitution?

M. de Breteuil, the Prime Minister, who in July 1789, urged upon the Assembly such desperate measures to repress the Paris insurrection, left France early in 1790, as the King's secret embassador to all the courts of Europe. His secret authority was not revoked after the King had taken the oath to support the new Constitution, but, rather received renewed force, from the fact that the King's private communications to the foreign powers were transmitted through him. One month after the Confederation celebration, the King addressed a protest to the different powers, concerning the action of the National Assembly in requiring the oath of loyalty from the clergy; and on the 6th of October, he sent a private letter to the King of Prussia, urging the combined action of all the powers for the restoration of his former rule in France. The following letter, found in the archives of the Chancellorship of Prussia, dated December 3, 1790, substantiates this fact.

"My Dear Brother: I have learned from M. de Moustier, how great an interest Your Majesty has displayed, not only for the safety of my person, but for the welfare of my Kingdom, and Your Majesty's determination to prove this interest, whenever it can be for the good of my people, has deeply touched me; I therefore confidently claim the fulfillment of it, at this moment, when, in spite of my having accepted the new Constitution, the factious portion of my subjects openly manifest their intention of destroying the remainder of the monarchy. I have thus addressed the Emperor, the Empress of Russia,

and the Kings of Spain and Sweden; and I have suggested to them the idea of a congress of the principal powers of Europe, supported by an armed force, as the best measure to check the progress of faction here; to afford the means of establishing a better order of things, and preventing the evil that is devouring this country from seizing on the other States of Europe. I trust that Your Majesty will approve my ideas, and maintain the strictest secrecy respecting the step I have taken in this matter, as you will feel that the critical position in which I am placed, at present, compels me to use the greatest circumspection. It is for this reason that the Baron de Bretenil has alone been made acquainted with my secret, and through him Your Majesty can transmit me whatever you may think fit."

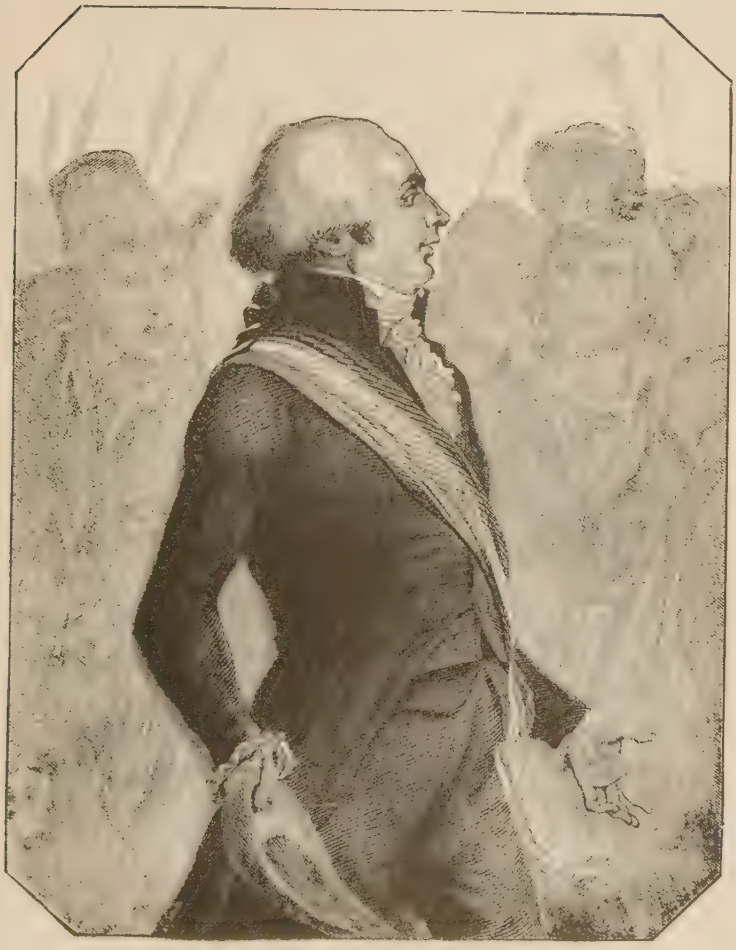
Michelet, whose statements are based upon official documents, says, "As early as October, 1790, the Austrian embassador, Mercy, minister Breteuil and the Queen's advisers, insisted upon the flight of the royal family. Bretenil sent a bishop from Switzerland transmitting his plan to the King. But neither the Queen nor the bishop considered it prudent to be the first to unfold it to his majesty. In order not to alarm him, they merely intimated the expediency, in case of danger, of taking refuge with General Bouillé's faithful regiments stationed close to the Austrian frontier and within reach of succor from Leopold, the King's brother-in-law. The King listened, but remained silent. The Queen now tried her influence, and by dint of prayers and entreaties at length obtained, Oct. 30th, 1790, a *general power to treat with foreign powers.* Bouillé, receiving notice of this, advised the King to repair, preferably, to Besançon, within reach of aid from the Swiss, secured by capitulations. But this was not to the taste of the Austrian advisers, who insisted on Montmédy, only two leagues from the Austrian fron-

tier. In order to come to a definite understanding, General de Bouillé sent in December Louis de Bouillé, one of his sons, who, conducted by the bishop, the original messenger in this affair, held an interview with Fersen, an intimate friend of the Queen, in a very retired house of the Faubourg Saint-Honoré. Bouillé was very young, being only twenty-one years of age. Fersen was exceedingly devoted, but absurd and careless, it would seem. Nevertheless, these were the two persons who held in their hands and directed the destiny of the monarchy. M. de Bouillé, being well acquainted with the court, and knowing that they were quite capable of disowning him if the business went wrong, had requested the King to write a letter containing every particular, and giving him full authority; which letter was to be shown to his son, who was to take a copy of it. This proceeding was serious and dangerous. The King, however, wrote and signed these terrible words which two years later were to lead him to the scaffold: "You must secure, before everything else, *assistance from abroad!*"

"The correspondence between the Queen and the foreign powers," says Mme. Campan, the Queen's lady-in-waiting and confidante, "was carried on in cipher. That to which she gave preference can never be divulged, but the greatest patience is requisite for its use. Each correspondent must have a copy of the same edition of some work. The Queen selected Paul and Virginia. The page and line in which the letters required, and occasionally a monosyllable, are to be found are pointed out in the cipher agreed upon. I assisted her in the operation of finding the letters, and very frequently I made an exact copy for her of all that she had ciphered, without knowing a single word of its meaning."

It must be borne in mind that before and during this conspiracy the wheels of industry and commerce had come to a standstill.

The forcible transfer of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, the bread riots at the capital, and excesses committed by the peasants in the provinces, had not only hastened the exodus of the nobles, but many of the wealthy, and others in easy circumstances, who, though at first having actively engaged in the events of the first epoch of the Revolution, now became alarmed, and in throngs of thousands crossed the frontier into safer lands. Those that did remain neither "spun nor wove," but turned whatever of their possessions they were able into ready cash, thus withdrawing the available capital of the country from circulation. As always happens in cases of popular commotions, the industrial class, which had been foremost in the contest against ancient abuses, were the principal sufferers of this crisis. During the winter of '89 and '90, thousands of workmen were without employment, and the influx of idle labor from the country steadily continuing, the evil had increased to an alarming extent. This unfortunate condition of things was aggravated by the difficulty of supplying Paris with provisions, owing to the disturbances in the provinces. The credulous people of Paris had been sadly disappointed in the hope that with the return of the royal family to Paris their troubles would be removed. It is almost incredible, but is a fact, that voracious speculations improved this scarcity of breadstuffs, to "boom" the price of grain. Bread-riots and lynch law were the consequences. During this period a number of wheat gamblers fell victims to the popular fury, whereupon, on the 21st of October, martial law was decreed by the National Assembly. The municipality was empowered to disperse popular assemblages by force of arms, a power which was executed by the National Guards (now composed almost exclusively of the bourgeois class) with undue severity and often with wanton brutality. It became, from day to day, evident that the bourgeoisie,



PÉTION.

who thus far had reaped all the benefits of the Revolution, did not possess the ability to grapple with this critical situation, nor did they seem inclined to allow the industrial classes a share in these benefits. Instead of devising a comprehensive economic system, by which labor might be rewarded, the bourgeoisie preferred to employ that of the old regime, namely, "powder and lead." It logically followed that the co-partnership heretofore existing between the bourgeoisie and the working classes was dissolved by mutual consent; that from being friends in the revolutionary movement they became bitter opponents, both struggling for actual existence in the state, and then for political supremacy, until the one was precipitated into the gulf which its own shortsightedness and selfishness had created. Instead of providing Paris with bread, the municipality ordered the old state dungeons at Versailles to be reconstructed for the imprisonment of obnoxious agitators, and every demonstration against the inauguration of a new Bastile was dispersed by the cavalry of the National Guard.

Now the streets and public places of Paris were daily filled with idle workmen, who could not, as was done subsequently, be employed in the army, and work was only to be had in those trades which were engaged in providing the National Guards with uniforms, arms and accoutrements. Petitions for work were responded to by the municipality with threats of arrest, and on the 14th of June, 1791, the trades' unions, for the offense of fixing wages and hours of labor, were declared—these efforts of the unions to better themselves being seditious—prohibited by law. These repressive measures were welcome food for the arch demagogue Marat, who, vulture-like, fed upon wrongs inflicted upon the laborer and his acts of retaliation.

CHAPTER XV.

MARAT.

It is, perhaps, a truism to say, that popular commotions are generally the result of scarcity of work and bread, and that, consequently, political and social reforms are mainly secured through the stomachs of the people. We have seen that, for more than a century previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, France was suffering from the evil effects of a vicious system of political economy, introduced under Louis XIV. and maintained with only partial interruptions during the reigns of his successors, and that it contributed in no small degree in precipitating this crisis. In the city of Paris these evils were necessarily aggravated by the closing of almost all her manufacturing establishments, and the efforts of the National Assembly for the provisioning of this populous center was never more than partially successful. Work and bread, was, therefore, the daily cry of Paris; it was the "burning question;" the main topic of public writers and speakers; a source of anxiety to the friends of a peaceful Revolution, and a standing menace in the hands of the demagogues.

Next to the popular clubs, the public press at this time had become the most important factor of the Revolution. While such journals as the *Révolutions de Paris* and the *Patriot Français* were conducted in harmony with the revolutionary sentiment of the great body of the French people, devising and discussing plans for the relief of the needy and for the erection of the new social and political edifice, *L'Ami du Peuple*, edited by Marat, and other sheets confined to the faubourgs, appealed to the passions and

prejudices of the idle workingmen, and incited the brutality and cupidity of the lawless rabble, congregated at the capital, to riots and insurrections.

Editor Marat could not have lived except by agitation and social disarrangement—contention was his element. The famine of the winter between 1789-90 afforded to his base propensities an endless field of operation. His paper fed on hunger and starvation.

Marat was unquestionably the most lugubrious figure of the French Revolution.

From the moment this monster prominently appears on the scene, the "Reign of Terror" may be said to have begun.

Attempts have been made by a certain class of writers to shield this man from the execration of posterity, but without avail, for the columns of his own paper, written by his own hand, convict him of complicity in wholesale murders.

Marat, or rather Mara, was born at Baudry, near Neufchatel, Switzerland. His father was an Italian and his mother a French Genevese, so that, although born in Switzerland, he had not a drop of Helvetian blood in his veins. By occupation his father was a clergyman of a liberal education, and his mother a sensitive woman, much given to reading and reflection; both were ardent admirers of the great Jean Jacques Rousseau, who had retired to Neufchatel, when Marat was at the age of twenty.

The brilliant achievements of Rousseau in the field of philosophical literature, impressed young Marat with the idea that he also might become a great author, a sentiment which was hourly fostered by his ambitious parents. Rousseau's writings henceforth formed the principal study of the youth. But, as his literary labors subsequently proved, Marat's mind was imitative rather than creative; he possessed Rousseau's indefatigable industry but not a

scintilla of his genius, and that sentiment of pride which distinguished this great author was mere vanity in Marat. His supreme egotism is thus aptly illustrated when, in 1793, he wrote of himself in his newspaper, *The Friend of the People:* "At five years of age, I wanted to be a schoolmaster; at fifteen, a professor; at eighteen, an author, and a creative genius at twenty; now I think I have exhausted every combination of the human mind, on morality, philosophy, and politics."

Marat started out in his work at the age of twenty, as a teacher of French at Edinburgh, giving himself the title of Doctor of Medicine. In 1774, having witnessed the riot in favor of the pamphleteer Wilkes, and the elevation of this extraordinary genius to the position of Lord Mayor of London, Marat was inspired to write his first book, entitled "The Chains of Bondage,"—an exceedingly weak production, noticeable only as furnishing proof of his absolute incapacity to understand the English system of government. In 1775, he published his book "On Man," in which he endeavors to prove, that soul and body are two distinct and absolutely different substances; the former subordinate to and controlled by the latter.

In 1777, Marat returned to France without substantial proof of the success he claimed for his literary works in England. His next book on "Medicine Galante," a suggestive and lewd publication, attracted the attention of the licentious young noblemen at the court, and finally that of the Count d'Artois, who offered its author the position of physician to his stables, in which capacity he continued a member of the royal household for twelve years.

In the summer of 1789 he made a short visit to England, returning to Paris on the memorable 14th of July of the same year. A witness of the exciting events of that day, his inflammable imagination became heated to madness; amid

these scenes of uncontrolled popular passion, he seemed to think such wild exhibitions were to last forever.

This he believed was his grand opportunity: a field for the gratification of a morbid imagination. He spoke, but his voice was but one of the hundreds of thousands who talked; he wrote, but his communications bore the stamp of an unsettled mind, full of wild and erratic notions which were either ridiculed by the editors on publication, or found their way to the waste basket. His unbounded vanity caused him to consider himself misjudged or misunderstood. To have a paper of his own, was, therefore, his only recourse. Selling the sheets from off his bed, in January, 1790, as he states it, in order to start his small paper, "*L'Ami du Peuple,*" the sluices of his venom were flung wide open. His paper began to attack everything and everybody that had, or desired to have, the semblance of respectability and decency. No one looked for instruction, news, foreign or domestic, in the columns of his sheet. They were principally devoted to railings, public and private scandals, and abuse of people personally disagreeable to him.

In writing of "aristocrats, noble or capitalistic," he generalized much after this fashion; "they should be assassinated to the moderate number of six hundred to begin with; ten thousand a little later on, twenty thousand after, and so on, until the maximum, two hundred and seventy thousand, was reached."

Marat's vocabulary was not extensive, but choice; "infamous scoundrel," "contemptible fraud," "villainous reptile," "miserable coward," and other expletives, were repeated *ad nauseam,* in line after line. In short, its matter was mostly abuse, high-sounding declamation and "literary mud," as we should call it to-day. But, still, there was system in Marat's "mud throwing." It is true, he was incorruptible; that is, he never wrote for money,

but the value of money is relative. Marat had no use for money, he seemed to prefer blood. His *People's Friend* of December 17, 1790, contains a letter addressed to him, in which he is informed, that of those he had denounced, as worthy to die, "four had just been assassinated." We are told by Michelet "that the Academy of Sciences disdained, what, in his vanity, Marat called his discourses, and in turn its members were persecuted and denounced by his newspaper. Peaceful men such as La Place, Laland and Monge, true patriots, and men of high character, were held up to the scorn of the people. His persistent accusations prepared the scaffold for the great Lavoisier, a chemist of world-wide renown."

In the midst of his ravings, Marat appears to have had some lucid intervals; occasionally the *Peoples' Friend* contained some sensible suggestions, and it is probably to these that the great success of his newspaper was due. He always was found representing the interests of the masses, and his criticism of unpopular measures and men, was often just and to the point. He strongly opposed the new election law, by which the workingmen were deprived of the elective franchise. "They have sacrificed their blood in your defense," said he addressing tho bourgeois side of the assembly, "and now as a reward for their devotion, they have not even the consolation of being considered a part of the State they have aided in saving. What excuse can you offer, then, to discriminate against these people? You admit that the poor are as much citizens as the rich. But you maintain that the poor man is purchasable. Is this true? Look at the Monarchies of the world. Is it not the rich which composes the venal horde about their courts." In this manner did Marat endear himself to the jealous, suspicious, hungry people of Paris. They soon began to consider him their only loyal and disinterested representative, and his influence in con-

LE DUC DE CHARTRES—Louis Philippe.

sequence increased from day to day. His repeated appeals to the Municipality to take some action for the relief of the destitute, had the desired effect. They requested a loan from the National Assembly, in order to establish what were called—most unfortunately—"Charity Workshops." The sum of fifteen million francs was voted for this object.

These "shops" were located in different parts of the city, that of Mont Martre alone giving occupation to seventeen thousand men. It was, although well designed, an unwise measure, as these corralled masses subsequently furnished revolutionary material for the great uprisings of the "Sans culottes," of 1792–93 and 94.

The relief these workshops afforded was necessarily insufficient; frequent complaints were heard about the smallness of wages, and of being paid in depreciated assignats; in the meanwhile, streams of idle men flowed daily into the city, to claim a share of the scanty work the government was providing, thus aggravating the evil.

CHAPTER XVI.

MIRABEAU'S DEATH—THE KING'S FLIGHT.

During all this time the court was preparing for civil war and foreign intervention.

The King, having been urgently pressed by the Assembly for his signature to the decree, requiring the clergy to take the oath to the constitution, at last reluctantly signed it. The recalcitrant priests, who still refused to take the oath, under the pretext that the new constitution endangered the Catholic religion, now began to use their influence among their rural parishioners against it.

The intrigues of the clergy were favored by the court, as this new element of discord could be utilized as the fire-in-the-rear contingent in case of foreign invasion. The self-exiled, under the leadership of Count D'Artois were assembling at Coblenz, and in constant communication with European powers.

In May 1791, assurances had been received from Austria, that war would be declared against France for the avowed purpose of re-establishing the old order of things. In the mean time the agents and secret allies of the emigrants at Paris, and in the Assembly, were actively engaged in furthering these treasonable plans.

The decree, which was to prohibit persons from emigrating without permission, was denounced by the royalists and finally defeated by Mirabeau, upon this previous pretext, that it was an infringement of personal liberty. Mirabeau had been, since Necker's retirement, in September, 1790, the acknowledged adviser of the court, and it is painful to relate, that for paltry pecuniary considerations, this great

statesman from this time forth threw his influence, not for the overthrow, but to the undermining of the edifice he had taken so active a part in erecting. The new constitution, which was mainly the work of Mirabeau, was at best but a string of ordinances full of stipulations, which returned to the King most of the power he had lost by former enactments.

For some time Mirabeau's health had been failing, his constitution having been undermined by early indiscretions and dissipation. He could not stand the mental strain to which he had been subjected during the two years of his Representative life. Unwilling to absent himself from the sessions of the Assembly, of which he was at this time the presiding officer, his personal friend Dumont saw him in February, 1791, "sitting in the evening, bandaged, and vainly trying to staunch the blood trickling from wounds made in the morning by leeches."

Mirabeau himself was aware that the shadow of death had enveloped him. On the 1st of April, at eight in the evening, he breathed his last. His parting words to Dumont were: "Ah! my friend, we were right when we wished at the beginning to prevent the Commons from declaring themselves the National Assembly; this is the origin of all our trouble. Since they have obtained the victory they have not ceased to show themselves unworthy of it. They have sought to govern the King instead *of being governed by him.*"

These words contain a world of information as to Mirabeau's real principles. He was a born noble, and was not even a constitutional monarchist, as some of his biographers have claimed. His ideal government appears to have been a sovereign king, with the three inactive estates, and himself, or one of his disciples, as prime minister.

In extenuation of his defects an English writer says: "His errors were not the result of his own vicious propen-

sities, but of a constitutional fire-boldness and headlong stormfulness, traceable in all his ancestors."

He was buried with great pomp in the Pantheon, but upon the discovery, through royal documents, that the King had paid his debts to the amount of eighty thousand francs, and other stipulated sums per month, his remains were ordered to be removed from their distinguished resting place.

His death was an irreparable loss to the court. Left without an able representative in the Assembly, the immediate flight of the King and Queen to the army of Bouillé was resolved upon. The first attempt was made eighteen days after their friend's death under the pretext of a visit to St. Cloud to take part in the Easter festivities. Information having reached the municipality that flight was the real purpose, this plan was frustrated. The King now resolved to escape under the cover of night; orders were dispatched to Bouillé to prepare for an escort. Troops were posted along the Belgian frontier. In the meantime, in order to disarm suspicion, the court was to express reconciliation with the results of the Revolution; consequently, all persons distasteful to the people were discharged from service at the Tuileries, and only such of the clergy as had taken the oath to support the Constitution were received at court. The hight of royal hypocrisy was reached, however, when the following circular, addressed to foreign embassadors, was sent through the King's minister, Montmorin, and purposely published in the daily press: "All the changes, called 'The Revolution,' are nothing more than the removal of a series of abuses, which, owing to the ignorance of the people and the power assumed by the ministers, had been accruing for centuries. The most dangerous enemies at home are those who mistrust the intentions of the King.

They persist in asserting that the King is unhappy and

dissatisfied; as if there could be any other happiness for him than the happiness of his people!

"They say his authority is being lowered! As if authority resting upon force were more worthy of respect than authority resting upon law! They maintain that the King is not free! 'Tis an infamous calumny! An illogical calumny; since all are aware that his Majesty voluntarily acquiesced in the request of the people to come and live in their midst. Let it be made known, therefore, that the conception which the King himself has of the spirit of the Constitution is as above stated; and let no doubt remain in the mind of any as to his Majesty's intention of maintaining this constitution with all the power at his command."

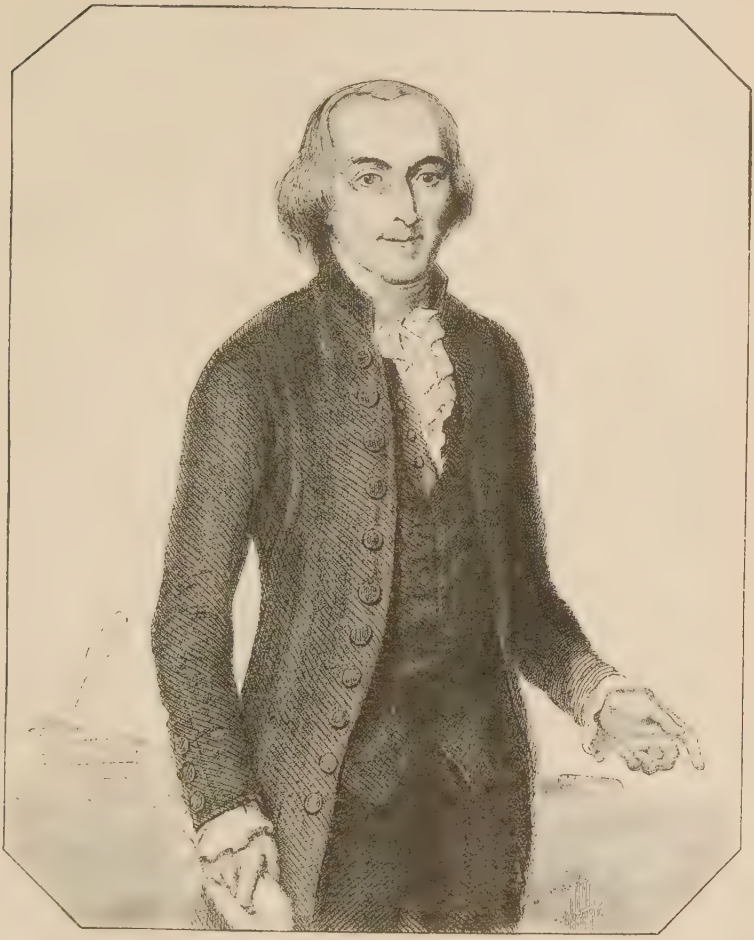
About the same time a letter of the King's, sent to his cousin, the Prince of Condé, was published, in which the august emígré is told to "Come back to your native land to enjoy all the pleasure and happiness which it offers to you. Return, and instead of enemies, my cousin, you will find brothers. I beseech you by the ties of blood; I command you in the name of France and my own! Obey or fear the dire consequence, etc." To these acts of duplicity the King added that of perfidy.

Lafayette, in his capacity of General-in-chief of the military forces of Paris, was held responsible for the safe keeping of the King's person, both by the people and the Assembly. It is altogether probable, that had the King been successful in his attempt to escape, the General would have been accused of collusion and his head taken to adorn a pike.

The preparations for the flight of the royal family had been too extensive to remain a dead secret. Rumors to this effect having reached Lafayette, he paid the King a visit, the very evening of the intended flight, and obtained from his Majesty's own lips an emphatic denial of any

intention to leave the country, "and" says the General, "in such a good natured way, that I left him fully satisfied I had been the victim of an empty rumor." In the face of the King's recent protestations of attachment to his people, his loyalty to the new Constitution, and his assurances to General Lafayette, who had befriended and protected him in many ways—and especially on the attack made upon the family at Versailles, the Queen assuring the General he had saved their lives—in the face of all these facts the King breaks his royal word, and at midnight, on the 20th of June, 1791, escapes with his family in disguise from an unguarded side-door. Separating they meet at the Place du Carrousel, where carriages are waiting to take them out of the city. A coach having been built for this very purpose, which they were to find just beyond the barriers. The coachman lost his way, and an hour was thus wasted at the outset, an hour beyond all value to the King. The immense coach besides containing the King, Queen, their son, and daughter, and the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, was compelled to halt once more, for the Governess, who, by law or custom, could not be separated from the royal Princesses. A passport had been obtained for the Governess, Madam de Lourzel, under the fictitious name Baroness de Korff—a Russian Princess. The King was to personate her body-servant, the Queen and Princess Elizabeth, her ladies in waiting. Upon the front were seated three of the King's body-guard, disguised as domestics. The Queen's ladies in waiting followed in another coach.

The arrangement agreed upon between General Bouillé and the Court, through some misunderstanding, was not carried out. The General expected the family to arrive two days before, and for his escort a detachment of cavalry had been advanced upon the road to near Châlons-sur-Marne. Supposing some unforeseen event had detained



ROLAND.

the King, and fearing the longer stay of his troops in the neighborhood might arouse suspicion, they were recalled. All went as well as could be expected, however, until the following afternoon. When the coach arrived at Sainte-Ménéhould, Goguelat, the Queen's Secretary, and young Choiseul, who had undertaken the execution of the project, were nowhere to be seen; nor were the troops there to escort the King. His Majesty, in a great state of uneasiness, looked out of the coach window to see what was the matter. He was recognized, and an officer of dragoons, who had not mounted his men as ordered, came forward to excuse himself. The municipal officers of the village being made aware of the King's presence, hardly knew what course to pursue. In this emergency, a young man formerly in the King's Guard, Drouet by name, volunteered to follow the coach, and taking a by-road through the woods, he reached Clermont, where he learned the carriages had left an hour before. Putting spurs to his horse, he reached Varennes a little before the arrival of the King. A misunderstanding concerning the position of the relays, had caused another momentous delay. It was eleven o'clock, and the night was pitch dark. The crazy Guards ran about in search of the relays, which instead of being as agreed upon, at the entrance, were waiting at the other end of the town. Suddenly Drouet galloped to the front of the King's carriage, and startled its inmates by calling out: "In the name of the Nation, stop, postillion! You are driving the King," after which he passed on into the town, rousing the people, who were soon running about with lanterns, some with arms, and all in a great state of excitement. Drums were beaten, and the National Guard called to arms. The postillions were forced on in the hope of being able to cross a bridge which divided the town. Drouet, and a comrade who had joined him, hurried to the bridge and barricaded it with

an overturned cart. Before reaching the bottom of the hill, an officer of the town demanded the passports.

The Queen replied, "Gentlemen, we are in a hurry."

"But who are you?" insisted the officer.

"The Baroness de Korff," said the Governess.

While carrying on this parley the officer turned his lantern to the window of the carriage, when the King was recognized.

The passports were now given up and examined by the officer. Being signed by the King he thought the documents all right. But the municipality not seeing the signature of the President of the National Assembly, pronounced them fictitious. This caused renewed excitement, and it was thought prudent by the friends of the King for the royal family to alight, whereupon they were conducted to the house of a grocer.

At 2 o'clock, the King's place of refuge having been discovered, a mob of citizens and peasants, armed with guns, forks, picks and scythes surrounded the shop. The King was now informed by the Municipality of Varennes that until orders were received from the National Assembly he must proceed no farther. His protests and the supplications of the Queen could not move them.

The arrival at 7 o'clock in the morning of M. de Romeuf, Adjutant of General Lafayette from Paris, with an order for the King's arrest, put an end to the painful suspense of all concerned.

Escorted by an army of National Guards the royal coach and other carriages were turned toward the capital.

Representatives Petion and Barnave, two of the three Commissioners delegated by the Assembly to escort the King to Paris, had met him half way and taken seats in the royal coach. An over-loyal royalist, having approached their Majesties to express his sympathies for their misfortunes, was set upon by the infuriated mob and was about

to be torn to pieces, when Deputy Barnave energetically interfered. This generous, and, under the circumstances, heroic action moved the tender heart of the Queen toward the young revolutionist; a friendly conversation ensued, and, before Paris was reached, Barnave was overwhelmed by the beautiful and spiritual Austrian. The menacing Goliath the Assembly imagined they had sent forth to terrify the royal fugitives, came back a submissive, sympathetic captive. A Republican of yesterday, he assentingly replied to the King's remark, "France can not be a Republic." "No, it is not ripe yet." Barnave must also have made a very favorable impression upon the Queen, for a few days afterward, in speaking of him to Mme. Campan, she said: "If we get the power into our own hands again, Barnave's pardon is written before hand in our hearts."

The expected entrance of the procession into Paris produced great excitement among all classes. The Assembly, however, before the arrival of the cavalcade, fearing demonstrations of a humiliating character to the royal family, had posted all over the city thousands of handbills, warning "Whoever applauds the King shall be whipped; whoever insults him shall be hanged!!"

Accordingly, the immense multitude thronging the sidewalks, perched in the branches of trees and upon the roofs of houses, received their runaway King with inauspicious reserve.

To many it seemed but the funeral cortege of royalty.

Drouet became the hero of the hour. A vote of thanks, and a reward of thirty thousand francs was voted him by the Assembly, on which occasion the applause of the galleries became deafening.

In addition to the betrayal of Lafayette and the Assembly, the King had insulted the Nation by leaving at the Tuileries a manifesto, addressed to *his* people, in which

he declared "his opposition to the changes brought about by the revolutionists of May, 1789," thus denying every word of his famous circular sent to the foreign embassadors. "He accused the Assembly of having annihilated his prerogatives, of having robbed him of his estates, and compelled him to sanction decrees which were distasteful to him. The people of Paris, he declared, held him as a prisoner, and had been disrespectful to him. The five million dollars allowed him per year for his civil list, was not enough to defray his expenses, and, therefore, in order that he might enjoy his liberty, which he could not find in Paris, he had left to look for it elsewhere."

CHAPTER XVII.

A GREAT MISTAKE—THE MASSACRE OF THE CHAMP DE MARS.

When the news of the flight of the King, his arrest and farewell manifesto reached the ears of the people, a tremendous feeling of indignation was manifested throughout France. The French were yet struggling with the idea that the King was their protector and savior. How could he desert his people who required his assistance now more than ever? Neither was there an excuse for his abandonment of his country, and the act created universal contempt among those yet professing loyalty to his person. The demand for his immediate deposition by the National Assembly was nearly unanimous throughout the Departments. Unfortunately for France, and we may say for the rest of Europe, this Assembly, as constituted, did not represent the sentiments of the country at this time. It had been elected under different circumstances, had served its purpose, and should have gone out of existence the day after the confederation. Other times had arisen and a different class of men were coming to the front, able and willing to grapple with the situation.

An Assembly elected a week or two after the festival of confederation, when the heart of the Nation was filled with the most patriotic, generous and noble sentiments, would have met the crisis in a statesman-like manner. The King had broken the solemn compact sworn to between himself and the people of France. Their representatives were now free to take such action as, in their judgment, would best serve the interests of the country. An Assembly elected at this time must have construed the

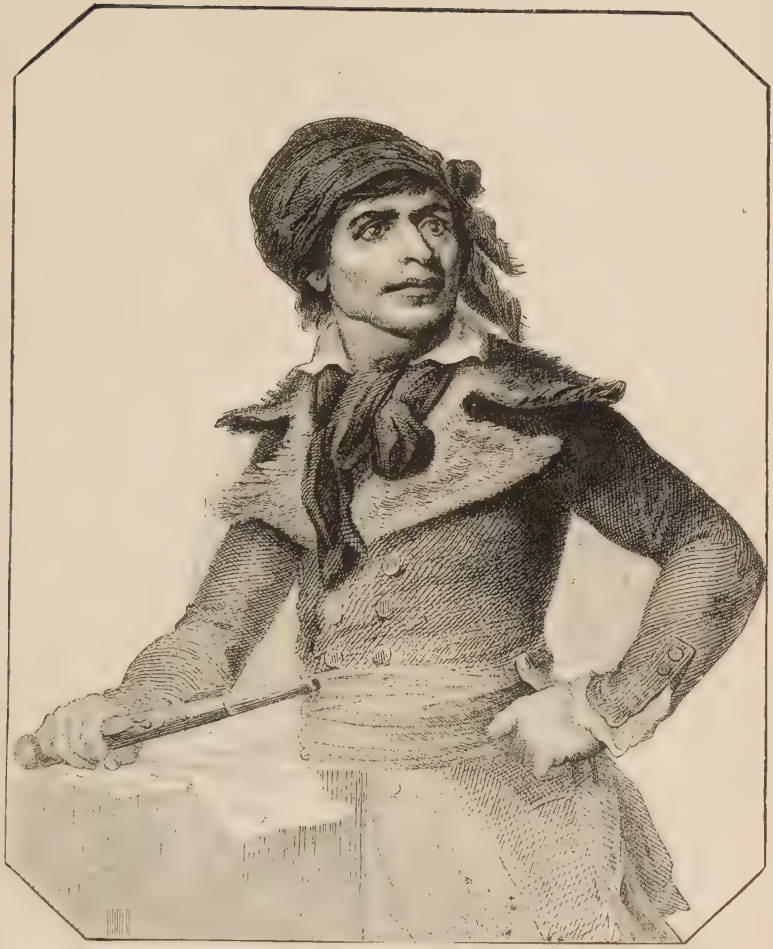
King's flight as an act of voluntary abdication, and a forfeiture of all those rights and privileges secured under the covenant mutually entered into; that is to say, the case would have been treated in the same equitable way as an impartial court of justice treats a breach of contract between one man and another.

Such an Assembly must have declared simply, that, "the King, having forfeited his rights, is hereby deposed and the Republic is established."

The remark of M. Barnave to the King, "that France was not ripe for a Republic," by some may have beeen considered as having some weight; but it is an acknowledged fact that when an intelligent people are left free to act upon their own impulses, uninfluenced by the allurements of wealth and power, they invariably select their best men to represent them. The real obstacle to the establishment and maintenance of republican institutions is not the lack of maturity on the part of the common people, but the immoderate ambition and greed of the more prosperous classes; passions which the stringent regulations of a monarchy are probably better able to keep in check.

It is useless, however, to speculate upon what a newly elected Assembly might have done in dealing with this exigency; the fact remains, that the life of the first National Assembly was prolonged beyond its legal term, through the powerful influence of Mirabeau, and now proved a great stumbling block to the peaceful, natural, reconstruction of the government.

Instead of decreeing that royalty in France had died by its own hand, the Assembly acknowledged its existence by temporarily suspending the functions of the King, and to complete this act of stultification, issued a proclamation informing the people, "that the King had been carried off by enemies to the public welfare." In this effort to save the monarchy the Assembly started it on its speedy road to ruin.



MARAT.

"To proclaim the downfall of the monarchy," says Lamartine, "and the formation of a Republic, was the most logical course to pursue."

As was to be expected, the Revolution, henceforth, assumed a more violent character. The legally constituted authority, having failed to meet the emergency, the question was brought before the forum of the people—the revolutionary clubs—and before the King was brought back from Varennes, the Club of the Cordeliers issued the following address, which was also read in the Jacobin Club:

"We are free, and without a King. It is only for us to decide whether or not we shall have another. We are of the opinion that the Nation should do everything itself, or through agents removable by her. We think that the more important an office the more temporary should be its tenure. We think that royalty, and especially hereditary royalty, is incompatible with liberty; we anticipate the crowd of opponents such a declaration will create; but has not the declaration of rights produced as many? In leaving his post the King virtually abdicated; let us profit by the occasion and our right; let us swear that France is a Republic."

On the 23d of June, the King having left on the 20th, Danton demanded the immediate forfeiture of the throne. "Your King," said he, "is an idiot or a criminal. It would be a most dreadful spectacle if, having the option of declaring the King a criminal or an idiot, you did not prefer the latter alternative."

Brissot, also, on the 27th, said in the Assembly: "The head of the Executive power of France has broken his oath. Must we bring him to justice? This is the only point on which we differ. Inviolability implies impunity from all crime—an encouragement to treason. Common sense demands that punishment should follow the offense."

On the 16th of July, the committee charged with investigating the King's flight presented its report: "In the journey to Varennes," they said, "there was nothing culpable and, even if there were, the King was inviolable."

Robespierre, in attacking the report of the committee holding the inviolability of the King as a bar to his prosecution, said: "The adoption of this report can only dishonor you; if adopted, I shall declare myself the advocate of all the accused, even General Bouillé. By the report of your committee, no crime has been committed. If no crime has been committed, there can be no accomplices."

Barnave, however, now fully committed to the interests of the court, supported the report in one of his most brilliant oratorical efforts, and it was adopted. The recreant Deputy did not then suppose that two years later this speech would rise to condemn him, and finally bring him to the scaffold.

The action of the Assembly in thus declaring royalty infallible, only widened the breach which his flight had created between the people and the King. The press championed its particular views with vehemence, keeping the inhabitants of the faubourgs in a constant state of fermentation.

The *Revolutions de Paris,* by Laustalot; the *Revolution de France,* by Camille Desmoulins; *La Chronique de Paris; Le Patriot Français,* by Brissot; the *Orateur du People,* by Féron; *La Bouche de Fer,* by Fauchet, heretofore friendly to the constitutional compact between the King and the people, now denounced the Assembly's decision.

The circulation of Marat's *L'Ami du Peuple* almost doubled within a week. In the Jacobin Club Robespierre and Danton were the favored orators, and their violent

assaults upon the Assembly, the majority of which they now denounced as a band of traitors, found a ready response among the Republicans. "Now that the Assembly has failed to do its duty," roared Danton, "it is time for the people to speak." Laclos, editor of the journal of the Jacobins, and a friend of Danton's, thereupon offered a resolution to the club, calling upon the people to obtain signatures to a monster petition to be presented to the Assembly, demanding a reconsideration of the decree of inviolability and the King's immediate deposition.

The resolution was passed, and the working people responded in such an enthusiastic manner, that on the 14th of July, not a month after the King's return, a petition, containing more than four thousand bona fide signatures was presented to the Assembly. The Assembly, however, finding itself entrenched by a growing sentiment of conservatism among the bourgeoisie, and the thirty thousand bayonets of General Lafayette, deigned no reply. Danton and the Jacobin Club were not to be disposed of in this unceremonious manner, and immediately determined upon a public demonstration. Accordingly, a call was issued for those in sympathy with the petition to meet at the Champs de Mars, the federation ground of the year before, and sign another petition.

The audacity of the call startled the Assembly, and fearing the consequences of a popular demonstration at this time, called upon the Municipality to preserve the peace; whereupon Mayor Bailly issued a proclamation against riotous assemblages.

His action, however, instead of preventing the meeting raised a spirit of opposition, and on the 17th thousands upon thousands flocked to the Champ de Mars and gathered around the altar of the Confederation, still standing.

In the absence of the petition drawn up in the Jacobin

Club, they selected a committee of four, one of whom drafted the following promulgation—still preserved in the documentary archives of Paris:

"On the altar of the country, July 13, year III. Representatives of the people of France! Your labors are drawing to a close. A great crime has been committed; Louis flies, unworthily abandoning his post! Arrested, he is brought back to Paris! The people demand that Louis be tried; you (the Assembly) declare he shall remain King. This is not the wish of the people, and your decree, therefore, is annulled. He was assisted in getting away by two hundred and ninety-two of your aristocrats, who have by this act declared they have no longer a voice in the National Assembly. The decree is annulled because it is in opposition to the voice of the people; your Sovereigns repeal your decree! The King has abdicated by his crime! Receive his abdication! Convoke a fresh Constitutional power! Dismiss your criminal and organize a new executive!"

This petition received six thousand signatures, and probably would have received thousands more but for the discovery and the subsequent massacre of two spies, who were found concealed beneath the altar, thus giving the demonstration a seditious aspect.

Mayor Bailly and General Lafayette, who had been the objects of the most violent abuse on the part of the Republican leaders, their press and clubs, were now determined to crush, by one powerful effort, the seditious spirits who seemed to have become masters of the situation.

At the head of ten thousand National Guards, composed of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, they marched to the Champ de Mars. The excitement produced by the death of the two men had subsided and the signing of the petition had been quietly resumed, when Mayor Bailly appeared, and ordered the people to disperse! His order

THE TEMPLE. LOUIS XVI. PRISON.

was replied to with angry shouts and wild cries of dissent, whereupon, he ordered Lafayette to use force. Blank cartridges being fired without producing the desired effect the shots being replied to by some dirt-throwing, the order was given to discharge a broadside of lead into the unarmed gathering, the result of which was the killing and wounding of several hundred people, and the dispersing of the rest.

This cruel attack upon the working people by the bourgeoisie of Paris—the National Guards for some time having been exclusively formed of this class—is known in history as "The Massacre of the Champ de Mars."

The leaders of the petition-movement, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and Marat, editors of newspapers and others of the club, fearing arrest and punishment, and no doubt remembering the adage, "to run away and live to fight another day," disappeared and remained away long enough for the feeling of hate against the "murderers" to crystalize. Returning, the warfare against royalty, Bailly and General Lafayette was re-opened by their papers and the Jacobin Club, with redoubled violence. The blood which had been spilled on the 17th created new divisions and bitter antagonisms between former political co-workers, which necessarily complicated the situation.

The royalist, or reactionary party, which stood by the court and its demands, having been reinforced by the converted Barnave and his adherents, formed the only solid phalanx in the Assembly. From day to day the lines between these factions grew more accentuated. The constitutional monarchists, now forming the center, generally upheld Lafayette's action on the Champ de Mars, while the Republicans denounced it as "unwarranted butchery." Both Bailly and Lafayette had been members of the Jacobin Club, but recent events making their con-

tinuance in this club impossible, they withdraw, and an organization, which has since been known as the *Club des Feuillants,* was formed. This club may be said to have represented the conservative views of the bourgeoisie, and could have wielded considerable influence and maintained its political power, but for the charge brought against its prominent members of being the "murderers of the republican petitioners."

When the people of the country heard that a gathering of miscellaneous citizens, unarmed and engaged in the harmless act of signing a petition to the Assembly, had been fired into at short range, with murderous effect, that was enough. They hurried to their local clubs of every name and description, and hearing that the Jacobin Club of Paris was foremost in its denunciations of the "butchery," congratulations were poured in upon it from every direction.

At this date begins to rise to importance that ghastly spectre of the Revolution, Robespierre. He stood at the helm of this powerful Jacobin Club, and most ably from this time forth did he use it in the interest of his vaulting ambition.

Robespierre was born in Arras on the 6th of May, 1758. He was supposed to be of remote Irish origin, and his ancestors had acquired patents of nobility in France. With the protection of his bishop, he was placed in the College Louis le Grand, at Paris, where, thanks to the care of one of his uncles, a priest at Notre Dame, and the interest Abbé Proyard paid to him, he made rapid progress in his studies.

After completing his education he returned to Arras, where his first important cause was the defense of the introduction of Franklin's lightning rod against the charges of impiety. He became a member of the Criminal Court of Arras, and in the discharge of his duties was called to

condemn a prisoner to death. This so affected him that he resigned his office, and advocated the abolition of capital punishment. The same as Marat, he was thoroughly imbued with Rousseau's theories, but, like his future collegue, construed them to the detriment of humanity.

"I once spoke with Robespierre at the house of my father, says Mme. de Staël, in her memoirs, when he was only known as a lawyer from Arras with exaggerated political views. His features were ignoble, his complexion pale, and his veins of greenish hue. He upheld the most absurd theories with an air of coolness and self-possession approaching conviction ; and I really believe that, at the beginning of the Revolution, he had adopted in good faith certain ideas he had caught from reading J. J. Rousseau concerning the equality of wealth and rank, which seemed to agree with his envious and vicious character."

Another woman, who had often seen Robespierre, Mme. Roland, says of him: "Never the smile of confidence rested upon the lips of Robespierre, while to the contrary they were constantly tightly closed with the smile of bitterness and of envy, which he claimed to disdain."

These two judgments, says Guadet, "agree with each other, and also agree with every thing we know of Robespierre; and if one thing is astonishing, it is the fact that such a man could ever become a popular idol."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PILNITZ MANIFESTO—ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE KING—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—DECREE AGAINST THE RECALCITRANT PRIESTS AND AGAINST THE EMIGRANTS.

In order to understand the affairs of France in 1791 it is necessary for the reader to look across her frontier. Here was to be found "the best blood" of the nation, conspiring with foreign enemies for an armed invasion of their own country. The news of the King's proposed flight, among these emigrant nobles, who had formed themselves into a military organization, produced the most intense joy. Extensive preparations were being made to meet him with all the pomp and enthusiasm his position and happy escape deserved, when the information of his cruel detention, arrest and his return to Paris, shattered all their hopes. In their consternation they declared the Count de Provence, the King's brother, Regent of France, who immediately surrounded himself with the usual retinue and paraphernalia of a royal court. A letter was sent from General Bouillé to the National Assembly, the contents of which showed that he was in sympathy and acting in concert with the Count de Provence, whose court now established at Coblenz, had become the center of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

Their intrigues with foreign potentates with a view to the invasion of France were about to be crowned with substantial results. On the 24th of August, the celebrated conference at Pilnitz was held between Emperor Leopold

of Austria, and King Frederick William of Prussia, in which the Count de Provence and subsequently the Count D'Artois with the faithful General de Bouillé participated. After several days' consultation, during which Emperor Leopold's scruples at the chance of a war with liberated France, had to be overcome, the following notorious joint manifesto was drawn up, and signed on the 27th :

"The Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia, having listened to the wishes and representations of *Monsieur* (Count de Provence) and Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, declare conjointly, that they look upon the present position of the King of France as an object of common interest to all sovereigns of Europe. They trust that this interest will not fail to be acknowledged, and will be espoused by all the powers whose assistance is claimed; that, in consequence, they will not refuse to employ, conjointly with the Emperor and the King of Prussia, the most efficacious means, proportioned to their forces, to enable the King of France to strengthen the basis of a monarchical government, equally conformable to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French Nation. In that case, their aforesaid Majesties are resolved to act promptly and in concert with the forces requisite to attain the end proposed and agreed on. In the mean time, they will issue all needful orders to their troops to hold themselves in a state of readiness."

This manifesto was tantamount to a declaration of war against France, but the German saying, "The soup is not eaten as hot as when it is cooked," is here applicable. The manifesto, while it gave encouragement to the emigrants, was productive of little harm at the time, and might have remained so, but for the incessant agitation of these nobles.

On the 3d of September, the National Assembly finished its labors by adopting a constitution. It trans-

formed France from an absolute into a constitutional, or, rather, "Democratic Constitutional Monarchy." By its provisions, all legislative powers were placed in the hands of a National Assembly, elected indirectly—that is through the electors—by all tax-paying citizens of the country. The King was inviolable, and governed through a responsible ministry; he retained a temporary veto, with binding force during two successive legislatures. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Army, but could only declare war and conclude peace with the assent of the Assembly. The pardoning power was vested in the Assembly. The Constitution guaranteed to every citizen equality before the law, liberty of the press, personal liberty, and security of property.

On the evening of the same day the Constitution was presented to the King by a deputation of the Assembly. The reception took place in the council chamber, all the ministers and other dignitaries being present.

"Sire," said M. Touret, speaking for the deputation, "The Representatives of the Nation come to present to your majesty the constitutional act, which consecrates the indefeasible rights of the French people; which gives the throne its true dignity, and regenerates the Government of the Empire." In receiving the act the King informed the deputation that he would return to the Assembly his decision at the shortest possible delay.

On the 13th he addressed a message to the Assembly, in which he informed the Representatives "that, having examined the constitutional act, he accepted it, and would carry it into execution." The following day he proceeded to the Assembly, and addressed it as follows: "I come here to solemnly consecrate the acceptance I have given to the constitutional act. I swear to be faithful to the Nation and the land, and to employ all the power delegated to me for maintaining the Constitution and carrying

SANTERRE.

its decrees into effect. May this great and memorable event be the re-establishment of peace, become a gage of happiness to the people and further the prosperity of the empire!"

After a felicitous reply by the President the King withdrew, accompanied by the whole Assembly. The cortege, as it passed on, was received with sincere expressions of joy by the people, and the fond expectation was again indulged in that the days of danger and factional strife had passed away to return no more; that the era of French liberty had been fairly inaugurated.

On the 18th of September, amid public festivities, music and the booming of cannon, the constitution was formally given to the people.

On the 30th of September the King closed the Assembly in person.

The ovation Robespierre and Petion received from the people, as they issued from the hall, threw a cloud over this apparent state of harmony of feeling, and filled the hearts of the Constitutionalists with evil forebodings.

The Assembly, in ordering the election for its succeeding body had decreed the ineligibility of its own members. This was Robespierre's plan. He knew the real power of the next Assembly would be with the Jacobin club, of which he was now almost the Dictator. With singular short-sightedness the Royalists voted with this man for a measure which paved the way for their annihilation. Under the prevailing state of public sentiment throughout the country, it would have been easy to foresee that none but the most prominent Republicans would be chosen as Representatives. For once the King saw the danger and opposed the measure; but the different factions, actuated by opposing motives, carried the day.

It seemed to be a foreordained fatality that nothing but universal chaos should terminate the old, that the new might rise from its ashes.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The elections for the Legislative Assembly proceeded peacefully, the voters on this occasion being instructed in regard to the details. As was to be anticipated, the political clubs were its principal factors, and the candidates to a great extent their choice. Some of the elements which had figured largely in the National Assembly, such as the higher nobility and the clergy who had refused to take the National oath, disappeared entirely, while the progressive element, representing advanced revolutionary ideas, formed the large majority of the new Assembly. Other party lines were formed, and the Constitutional party, which held almost undisputed control of the old Assembly, and had passed the Constitution, sank into insignificance, occupying the seats to the right of the speaker, formerly held by the Royalists, and, as supporters of the Constitution now sided with the King in his struggles with the newly elected Assembly; consequently they soon became as obnoxious to the people as their reactionary predecessors had been. The able leaders of this party being ineligible, the leadership fell into the hand of mediocrity. Its policy represented the aspirations of the higher bourgeoisie, which policy was daily losing in popular favor. The rest of the Assembly was composed almost exclusively of young men, who filled with ardor for the new era of liberty had accepted the position of Representatives with the purest and most exalted patriotic motives. They were young and inexperienced, but they truly represented regenerated France. To a degree most of

them were idealists; but all were filled with the firm purpose of having the sovereignty of the people represented by King as well as peasant, and that this sovereignty be firmly established forever. Had the court and the King been conscious of this prevailing sentiment, and had the King shown a disposition to accept their direction in a spirit of conciliation, all might have been well. But such a sensible course was hardly to be expected in a man so strongly confirmed in his prejudices against governmental modifications, a man who held such exalted views of his own majesty and royal dignity, and who had given so many proofs of his reluctance to relinquish an iota of his prerogatives.

The country was in the throes of a tremendous political and social transformation; this fact seemed to be felt and appreciated by everybody but the King. He had acknowledged the sovereignty of the French people and had sworn to respect it; but in his intercourse with their representatives he trifled with popular sovereignty and exasperated them with his punctiliousness.

When the Legislative Assembly convened on the 30th of October, and had perfected its organization, a deputation was appointed to wait upon the King. They were informed at the Tuilleries that His Majesty would not see them before one in the afternoon, but persisting, they were told to return at nine. Having been introduced, the King asked for the names of the members. "I do not even know them," said he, and terminated the audience by telling the deputation he could not possibly see them on any question of moment before Friday. Thus did Louis XVI. remain true to his ancestors. His indifference to what so nearly concerned the welfare of France mortified his adherents in the Assembly and exasperated his opponents. A demand was thereupon made to abolish the title of "His Majesty."

"There is no other majesty here," said Couthon, in his maiden speech, "than the majesty of the law and the people." It was, therefore, decreed before adjournment that henceforth, the only title the King could lawfully claim was that of "King of the French." The King, it would seem, could be made to see that the world moved only by heavy blows. If he insulted the Assembly, the Assembly found ways to immediately return the compliment. The constitutional party, however, came to the championship of the King by declaring the decree was passed only for the purpose of humiliating him. The Royalist press denounced the action of the Assembly as revolutionary. Public opinion seeming to drift towards this view, it was decided by a council of Ministers, to oppose the decree and demand its repeal. The question having been revived in the Assembly, it became the subject of an acrimonious debate between the constitutional and democratic parties, when finally the decree was repealed. This retrograde movement on the part of the Assembly was considered by the Royalists as a surrender to the King, and their journals held up the promoters of the decree to public derision. The Jacobins were exasperated, venting their disappointment in violent denunciations at their club; but constantly threatened by Lafayette's National Guards, they abstained from open demonstrations. On the 7th, the day after the decree's repeal, the King appeared in the Assembly, and addressing them standing, with uncovered head—an unprecedented condescension—he said:

"In order that our labors may have the beneficial results we have a right to expect, it is necessary that harmony shall prevail, and the utmost confidence continue to exist between the King and this legislative body. Enemies to our peace will seek every opportunity to spread dissension among us; but the love of our common country must bind

us, and public interest keep us united. Thus will the power of the people unfold itself and the administration be harassed by no vain fears." The apparently candid expressions of the King were well received by the Assembly, and the hall resounded with "Long live the King."

The President's reply was a gentle reminder that the King would be kept strictly to account. It was as follows:

"Sire! your presence in this Assembly is an evidence of the new oath you have taken of fidelity to your country. The rights of the people have been forgotten, and their ideas upon the limits of power become confused. But a constitution has been born! and with it comes liberty and peace to France. As a citizen, it is your duty to cherish it—as King, to strengthen and defend it.

"Far from lessening your power, it has confirmed it, and has given you *friends* in those who formerly were styled your *subjects*. You said only a few days ago in this temple of our country, that you had need of being beloved by all Frenchmen; we, also, have need of being beloved by you. The Constitution has rendered you the greatest monarch in the world; your attachment to it will place your Majesty among the Kings most beloved by the people. Strong by our union, we shall soon feel its salutary efforts. To purify legislation, support public credit, and crush anarchy, such is our duty, such our wishes. Such be yours, Sire, and the blessing of the French nation will be your best recompense."

These patriotic sentiments were heartily approved by the Assembly, and all Paris went into transports of joy once more over the supposed settlement of their public affairs. All former animosities, engendered by the treachery of the King, his flight, and his memorial seem now to have passed into oblivion, and in this gush of generosity General Lafayette's request for amnesty for

all those who had participated in the conspiracy to abduct the King was granted.

Were these generous impulses of an over credulous people reciprocated by the court? Or were the King's candid expressions of loyalty to the Constitution and the Nation mere platitudes, uttered solely for the purpose of deceiving the people and gaining time for perfecting his brother-in-law's European coalition?

Such is claimed to be the fact by many historians, those friendly to the King's cause being of the number.

Madame Campan, the author of a book of memoirs, and companion of Marie Antoinette, an eye witness to the behavior of the royal family behind the scenes, on the return of the King from the Assembly, says of the part the King was playing, and the agony it caused him: "At length I hoped to see a return to that tranquillity which had so long been missed from the conferences of my august master and mistress. The Queen attended the sitting (of the Assembly) in a private box. I remarked her total silence, and the deep grief which was depicted upon her countenance on her return.

"The King came to her apartment through the private way on his return; he was pale; his features were much changed; the Queen uttered an exclamation of surprise at his appearance. I thought he was ill, but what was my affliction when I heard the unfortunate Monarch say, as he threw himself into a chair, and put his handkerchief to his eyes. '*All is lost!* Ah! Madame, and you are witness to this humiliation! What have you come into France to see?' These words were interrupted by sobs. The Queen threw herself upon her knees before him, and pressed him to her breast. I remained with them, not from any blameable curiosity, but from stupefaction, which rendered me incapable of determining what I ought to do. The Queen said to me: 'Oh, go, go!' with an accent which

LOUIS XVI. TAKING LEAVE OF HIS FAMILY THE DAY BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

expressed, 'Do not remain to witness the dejection and despair of your sovereign!' Half an hour after the Queen sent for me. She desired to see Goguelat, to announce to him her departure on that very night for Vienna. The new attacks upon the dignity of the throne, which had been exhibited during the sitting; the spirit of an Assembly *worse than the former;* the monarch put upon a level with the president without any deference to the throne; all this proclaimed too loudly, that the *sovereignty* itself was aimed at. The Queen no longer saw any ground for hope from the interior of the country. (All efforts at stirring up civil-war having ended in mere spats.)

"The King had written to the Emperor. She told me she would herself, at midnight, bring to my room the letter which M. Goguelat was to bear to her brother, the Emperor of Austria."

The Queen, however, did not start for Vienna that night, but went with the King, Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, and the two children to the theater, "where," as we are informed by M. de Lamartine, "the hopes to which the events of the day had given rise—his promises of the morning—the expression of confidence and affection on his features, produced on the spectators one of those impressions when pity vies with respect, and enthusiasm softens the heart into veneration. The theater rang with applause, mingled with sobs; every eye was fixed on the royal box, as though mute reparation was being offered to the King and his family."

Suppose these generous and respectful people had witnessed the scene in the Queen's private apartment only a few hours before, and had known that the very moment they were so rapturously applauding the expression of *confidence and affection on the features of the King*, a secret messenger was preparing to leave for Vienna that night with a letter from the Queen to the Emperor of Austria

informing him that, "*all was lost;*" that he had been humiliated by an Assembly *worse than the preceding one*; that *his* sovereignty was aimed at; that, unable to see any more ground for hope from the interior of the country to restore to him his old kingdom and throne, his only reliance was now—on what? Foreign intervention! Streams of French blood; a war of devastation?

We are further informed by Madame Campan that: "While couriers were bearing confidential letters from the King to the princes, his brothers, and foreign sovereigns, the Assembly (also deluded) invited him to write to the princes in order to induce them to return to France."

This letter was written by the King, as was another to the emigrants generally, inviting them all to return. These demonstrations of solicitude for the country's welfare were mere buncombe, however, and as insincere as all his former protestations had proven to be. He knew that the Pilnitz manifesto of September, and the letter from his brothers at Coblenz, in which these princes protested against all acts of the National Assembly decreed since 1789, as illegal and void, had stirred up the blood of the country, and that this question of the return of the emigrants would be among the first to be discussed in the Legislative Assembly. By writing and publishing these letters, the King hoped to forestall a decree against his relatives and friends, which he would be compelled to enforce if passed by the Assembly. The discussion of the return of the emigrants by the representatives was among the most noteworthy of the year, both in regard to its effect upon the future destiny of France, as a European power, and in bringing to the front the eminent representatives from the Gironde, who received the name Girondists, and were the controlling spirits of the Assembly for the next two years. Brissot, probably the ablest and most influential among them, thus eloquently defined their

position: "If," said he, "it be really desired to check the tide of emigration, we must rigorously punish the more elevated offenders, who have established in foreign lands a counter-revolutionary center.

"The emigrants must be divided into three classes: the brothers of the King — unworthy of belonging to him; the public functionaries — deserting their posts, and deluding honest citizens; and, finally, the simple citizens, who follow their example from weakness or fear. You owe hatred and banishment to the first, pity and indulgence to the others. How can the citizens fear us, when impunity toward their chiefs insures their own? What can the emigrants think when they see a prince, after having squandred 40,000,000 francs in ten years, still receive from the National Assembly more millions, in order to provide for further extravagance and to pay his debts.

Divide your interest, now centered upon the rebellious, by alarming the prime criminals, whose hearts have been corrupted from the cradle. Would you check this revolt? Then strike a blow on the other side of the Rhine; it is not in France it should be struck. It is to foreign powers especially that you ought to address your demands and throw your menaces. It is time to show Europe who you are, and to demand of her an account for the outrages you have received from her. I say it is necessary to compel these powers to do one of two things: either they must recognize our Constitution, or they must declare against it. In the first place, you have not to balance yourselves; it is necessary for you to assault the powers that dare to threaten you. Have no fears—the image of liberty, like the head of Medusa, will affright the armies of all Europe; they fear to be abandoned by their soldiers, and that is why they prefer the line of expectation and an armed mediation. An English constitution and an aristocrat's liberty will be the basis of the reforms they will

propose to you; but you will be unworthy of all liberty if you accept yours at the hands of its enemies."

This audacious address was followed by similar arguments by Condorcet, Vergniaud, and Isnard—the latter closing his fiery appeal thus: "Cowards, we lose the public confidence; by firmness our enemies would be disconcerted; our enemies will swear with one hand while they are sharpening their swords with the other."

The decree was adopted. Its main features were: "That the French assembled on the other side of the frontiers should be from that moment declared *actual conspirators*, if they did not return before the 1st of January, 1792, and, as such, if captured after this date, be punished with death." This decree was promptly vetoed by the King, which, it was claimed, clearly showed his connection with the conspirators.

Upon this veto, editor Desmoulins said: "Continue faithful, friends, and if they (the royalists) obstinately persist in not permitting you to save the nation, we will save it ourselves, for the power of the royal veto must have its limit; the taking of the Bastile could not have been prevented by a veto."

In November, 1791, the term for which Mayor Bailly was elected expired, and Lafayette, who had recently resigned his position of Commander-in-Chief of the National Guards, entered the field as candidate for the Mayoralty. He was opposed by Petion, a violent Republican. It was said the Queen disliked Lafayette, and, indirectly joining hands with the Jacobins, had him defeated—the only man who might have saved the monarchy, if the monarchy then could have been saved.

The election of Petion as Mayor and defeat of Lafayette was of two-fold effect. It took all power from the bourgeoise and placed it with the patriotic clubs; it made the new political faction, the Girondists, masters of the situation.

About this time the Legislative Assembly were engaged with the troubles growing out of the refusal of some of the priests in the country to subscribe to the oath supporting the Constitution. The Assembly had sent a deputation to investigate the condition of affairs in the Vendee. The report read before the Assembly said: "The most odious inventions are being circulated among the inhabitants against the constitutional priests. They are told that those married by such clergymen are not married, and their children will be illegitimate." It was learned that these priests could officiate at burials only at the risk of their lives; the people were warned to have no communications with them, and such municipal officers as had installed them were declared apostates, the same as the constitutional priests, etc., etc.

"This crusade against the priests who had taken the oath to the Constitution," the report continued, "has established a serious division among the people of the parishes, families even becoming divided. Every day witnesses the separation of the wife from her husband, and children abandoning their father. The municipalities are disorganized, and a great number of citizens have withdrawn from the National Guards. The destitute receive no assistance, and the tradesman no work unless he pledges himself not to participate in the masses said by constitutional priests." On the 21st this question was made the order of the day, when most of the orators insisted upon rigorous measures. On the 3d of November, Gensonné, in an eloquent appeal to the Assembly, claimed that the disaffection in the interior was to be attributed solely to the religious quarrels existing there, a state of affairs which could be quickest remedied by directing the parishioners to select their own priests from among those who had taken the oath to the Constitution.

On the 29th of November the Assembly adopted, substantially, the following decree:

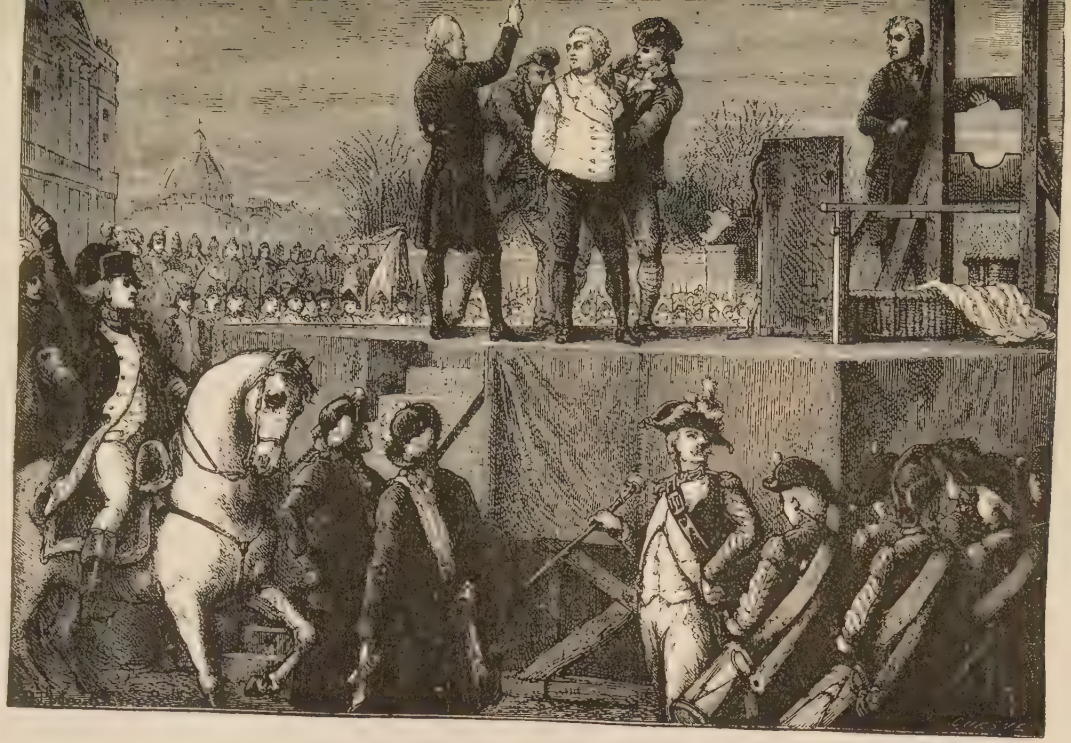
"Within eight days from the publication of the present decree, all ecclesiastics, having failed to take the prescribed civil oath, shall present themselves before the municipality of their domicile and be sworn. No ecclesiastic shall hereafter obtain any pay or emolument from the public treasury unless provided with the proof that he has subscribed to the oath.

"In addition to the loss of salary, the ecclesiastics who have refused to take the oath shall be considered suspected of evil intentions against the country, and shall be placed under the special surveillance of the constituted authorities.

"Should any trouble result in any parish from the teachings of such recalcitrant priest, he may, by order of the Department authorities, be transferred beyond its limits." The King vetoed this decree also.

It has been shown that during October and November, 1791, while the debates on the clerical decree were in progress, the court was still carrying on a treasonable correspondence with foreign powers, and the emigrants. These secret intrigues could not entirely escape the notice of the Assembly, and on the 14th of January, 1792, Gensonné, in the name of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, read a report setting forth the grievances of France against the Emperor of Austria. Among these complaints were: "The open support accorded to the emigrants; favoring the cockade of the counter-revolutionists, while the national colors were proscribed; treaties entered into with other powers against the Legislative Assembly, under the pretext of defending the dignity of the King of France, and the maintenance of his crown."

In support of this report, Gensonné said: "It is time for the French Nation to vindicate its independence, which



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is being assailed, and, especially, to forestall the Congress of powers, which has for its object the modification of the French Constitution. What is this conspiracy formed against the country? and how long shall we suffer its plotters to harass us with their maneuvers? If it is true that these intrigues have been conducted by men who expect to use it as a means to raise themselves from the political grave in which they have recently been buried, can the National Assembly close its eyes to this threatening danger? Let us teach all potentates on this continent that *the French Nation is resolved to maintain its Constitution in its entirety or perish entirely with it.*

The tremendous applause which greeted this inspiring outburst having subsided, Gensonné proposed it be at once decreed: "That the French Nation consider *any agent of the Executive power,* or any Frenchman who takes part, directly or indirectly, in a Congress, the object of which is to be the modification of the Constitution, as an infamous traitor, and guilty of high treason."

This allusion to the King had its effect; members jumped to their feet and cheered. When order was restored, Gensonné continued:

"I insist that the King be at once informed of this declaration, and with the command that he bring it to the knowledge of the princes now on the frontier; also, that he give notice, that we shall consider any prince who manifests an intention to attack the Constitution as an enemy to France."

The decree was unanimously voted, amidst storms of applause, and the cry, "Yes! Yes! The Constitution or death."

From the standpoint of the cold reasoner these outbursts of fervent enthusiasm may appear somewhat strange and dramatic; but it must be remembered that the Revolution was assailed by an intriguing court and a sedi-

tious clergy from within, and threatened by a powerful combination of foreign monarchs and treasonable emigrants from without. The Executive and Ministry were hostile to the Assembly, and dishonored their own responsible positions by plotting with the enemies of the country. The arch-traitors of this body, Delessert, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Bertrand de Molleville, having both been denounced by the Assembly as unworthy of confidence, were nevertheless retained by the King. Accordingly, on the 16th of March, 1792, Brissot offered the motion, "to impeach Delessert for malfeasance in office and treasonable practices against his country." The decree was passed, whereupon the terror-stricken Ministry, with the exception of Degrave, resigned.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GIRONDIST MINISTRY—MADAME ROLAND.—WAR AGAINST AUSTRIA—THE KING'S AGENT, MALLET DU PAN.

The King was now placed between the alternatives of a violent outbreak or choosing a council of advisors in harmony with the majority of the Legislative Assembly. He chose the latter; and some days after, General Dumouriez was called to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Jean Francis Dumouriez was born in Cambria, January 25, 1739. He distinguished himself during the Seven Years' War against Frederick the Great, in which he was repeatedly wounded. He was actively engaged in the annexation scheme of Corsica to France. He also took part in the revolutionary movement in Poland. Returning to France at the elevation of Louis XVI., he was placed in command of Cherbourg, which was strongly fortified under his supervision. In 1787 he was appointed a Brigadier-General. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he succeeded in gaining popularity with the leaders of the movement, but still maintained friendly relations with the court. Having joined the Jacobin Club, he became acquainted with the leaders of the Girondists, who were captivated by his apparent loyalty to their cause.

Dumouriez, seeing in the impending war with the powers great opportunities for the gratification of his vaulting ambition, "trimmed his sails to catch the breeze." At fifty-six he was one of those young old men who, combining the fire of youth with all the deliberation of age, became an admired figure in the whirl of events. His desire for fame now increased in proportion to the years he had lost in fruitless efforts.

Lamartine describes him, "As a man of that middle stature of the French soldier who wears his uniform gracefully, his haversack lightly, and his musket and saber as if he did not feel their weight. Equally agile and compact, his body had the cast of those statues of warriors who repose on their expanded muscles, and yet seem ready to advance. His attitude was confident and proud; all his motions were as rapid as his mind. His head, rather thrown backward, rose well from his shoulders, and turned on his neck with ease and grace—as with all elegant men. His brow was lofty, well turned, and well displayed. The salient and well defined angles of his face announced sensibility of mind added to delicacy of understanding. His eyes were black, large and full of fire; his nose and the oval of his countenance were of the aquiline type, which reveals a race ennobled by war and empire; his mouth, flexible and handsome, was almost always smiling; no tension of his lips betrayed the efforts of his plastic mind—a master mind that played with difficulties and overcame obstacles. Devoted to the fair sex and easily enamored, his experience with women had imbued him with one of their highest qualities — pity. He could not resist tears, and those of the Queen would have made him a Cid of the throne. He had no political principles; the Revolution was to him nothing more than a fine drama, which was to furnish a grand scene for his abilities and a part for his genius. A great man for the service of events; if the Revolution had not beheld him as its general and preserver, he would equally have been the general and preserver of the coalition. Dumouriez was not the hero of a principle, but of the occasion. Meeting the great leaders of the Gironde at Mme. Roland's, he affected full compliance with the will and interests of their party. This man was to be for three short months the last support of the French throne. He used his best

efforts to reconcile the King and the Queen with the existing state of things, or as established by the Constitution."

In order to constitute harmonious action between the members of the Cabinet, Lacoste, a friend of Dumouriez, received the portfolio of the Navy; Duranton, that of Justice; Clavière, a colleague of Brissot, and strongly indorsed by him, was given the Treasury; and Roland, the husband of Mme. Roland, was charged with the portfolio of the Interior.

This Cabinet, representing the views and tendencies of the majority in the Assembly, was not the free choice of the King, consequently, never received his good opinion or enjoyed his confidence. It was detested by the Queen, and as they passed through the anti-chambers were sneered at by her insolent courtiers.

Before entering the narration of events as they transpired under the Girondist Cabinet, it is necessary to bring before the reader the antecedent history of the beautiful and accomplished woman referred to above, Mme. Roland, who, it was claimed, was largely instrumental in the formation of this Ministerial Council. Mme. Manon Jeanne de Roland was the gifted wife of Roland de la Platière, now Minister of the Interior. She was as remarkable for her talents as for her virtues.

She possessed the ability to appropriate to herself the spirit of knowledge and its masculine elements without losing the grace and softness of her sex. A Parisian by birth, her father a bailiff, from her infancy she had enjoyed and imbibed the vivacious spirit of the merry capital. A great reader, her father had placed in her hands such books as strengthen the mind. At the age of eleven she was sent to a convent, where she formed the friendship of Sophie Canet, with whom for eight years she carried on an interesting correspondence. These letters were published in 1841.

In 1780 she was married to M. de Roland, more than twenty years her senior. In 1784 they visited England and together studied the workings of her constitutional monarchy. Returning to France, and taking up their residence at Lyons, they began the publication of a work entitled: "A Dictionary of Manufactures and Art." At the outbreak of the Revolution, which they hailed with equal enthusiasm, Roland became a municipal officer of Lyons, while Mme. Roland contributed to a new democratic journal. In 1791 they removed to Paris, Roland having been chosen representative to the National Assembly by the workingmen of Lyons. Her home in Paris soon became the rendezvous of the most prominent members, both of the Girondist and the Jacobin party—Robespierre being one of her daily visitors. Her over-zealous admirers saw in her the head which directed the husband as well as the Assembly, or as one of them has said, "Mme. Roland is the man of the Girondist party." On the other hand, calumniators have endeavored to throw suspicion, not only upon her motives, but upon her private character; impartial history, however, has vindicated both. "Madame de Roland," says M. Guadet, "with charming simplicity, relates herself what she thought, what she felt, what she said, and what she did; if you desire animated scenes, poetic pictures, sentiment, warmth, intellectuality, dramatic tableaux, take it; the few lines she will furnish you have more value and express more than all you will ever be able to invent concerning her." Mme. Roland having written her memoirs during her imprisonment, and with the imminence of the scaffold before her eyes, they bear the imprint of an ante-mortem statement. They must, therefore, be considered the most trustworthy testimony. In speaking of her husband, Minister Roland, she says: "A trusty, honest man; well informed, industrious, and severe as Cato; just as opinionated in his ideas and as

brusque in his repartees, but, perhaps, not as exact in discussion." Of herself she says: "I have, perhaps, as much firmness as my husband, but more flexibility; my energy has milder forms, but they rest upon the same principles; I shock less, but penetrate better." In speaking of her participation in her husband's labors, and her relations with the public men of the times, she says:

"The habit and the taste of a studious life made me take part in the labors of my husband, while he was a simple citizen; I wrote as I did eat, with him, because the one was as natural to me as the other, and existing only for his happiness, I devoted myself to what gave him the most pleasure. He wrote of the arts; I endeavored to do the same, although it annoyed me; he loved erudition; we made common researches; he prepared some literary composition for an academy; we worked together, or separately, subsequently to compare, and either to prefer the best or remodel both into one. He became Minister. I never meddled with the administration; but when a circular or an important public document was to be prepared, we corrected, as we had been accustomed to do, and I, imbued with his ideas, and impelled by my own, took the pen, which I was more at leisure to use than he. Both having the same principles and the same spirit, we succeeded in agreeing upon methods, and my husband's work lost nothing in going through my hands. I could express nothing in regard to reason and justice which he was not capable of realizing and sustaining with his character and his conduct. Without me Roland would not have been less a good administrator; his activity and his ability were all his own, as much as his probity. Joined with me he created more sensation, because I infused into his writings that admixture of force with tenderness, of authority with reason, and that charm of sentiment which appertains, perhaps, only to a woman of sense and sensi-

bility. While my husband was in the Ministry I made it a law never to make nor receive visits, and never to *invite women to dinner.* I had no great sacrifices to make in this respect; not having resided in Paris for some years, my social circle was not extensive; moreover, I had not taken part in grand society because I loved my studies as much as I detested the other, and I was annoyed in company of *sots.* Accustomed to pass my days within my house, I participated in the labors of Roland, and cultivated my particular tastes. I never had a society circle, properly speaking. I received at dinner, twice a week, the Ministers, the Deputies, those whom my husband found it necessary to entertain, or with whom he wished to preserve more intimate relations. These discussed public affairs in my presence, because I did not have the mania of meddling in them. Of all the parts of my vast apartment I reserved for my daily life the smallest salon, turning it into a study, furnished only with my books and a desk. It often happened that friends or colleagues, desiring to see the Minister upon confidential matters, instead of going to his bureau, with its public surroundings, came to me and requested me to call him. I thus found myself *au fait* with current affairs without intrigue or vain curiosity. Sometimes it also happened that his friends who had brought news, or wished a word to say to Roland, charged me with its transmittal at my first opportunity."

In regard to her mode of living Mme. Roland says:

"Taste and simplicity distinguished my table; ornamented luxuries never appeared; one was at ease without devoting too much time to ceremony — there being but one service. Fifteen covers was the ordinary number of guests; seldom eighteen, and only once twenty. Such were the repasts traduced at the tribunes of the Jacobins, as sumptuous feasts, where 'a modern Circe compromised all those who had the misfortune to partake.'

DANTON.

We sat down at five; at nine none remained at my house. This was the court of which I have been made the Queen; this hearth of conspiracies with an open door! The other days I was entirely alone with my husband, my little girl taking her meals with the governess. Those who have seen me in these days, sometime hereafter, when the voice of truth can again be heard, will bear witness to my words."

This candid and touching recital carries with it its own conviction.

The Girondist Ministry went earnestly to work to prepare France for the impending crisis. War was imminent. Should it be an offensive or defensive war? This was the question which the Assembly was to decide.

Brissot, the leader of the Girondists, was for an immediate declaration of war and an aggressive policy. Robespierre representing the Jacobins, distrusted the General-in-Command, and believing that France was not prepared for an offensive campaign, favored the policy "of armed observation." However, matters on the frontier became daily more complicated. On the 7th of February a treaty was signed at Berlin between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia for the avowed purpose of suppressing the troubles in France and Poland; and on the 17th an additional agreement was signed at Vienna, by which the Emperor engaged to furnish 180,000 effective troops and the King of Prussia 60,000, in order to carry the treaty of the 7th into effect.

Early in March, General Dumouriez demanded from the Emperor an explicit and categoric declaration, which demand was replied to as follows: "Austria favors peace, provided the French monarchy be based upon the royal declaration of June 23, 1789, reëstablishing the three orders; that the ecclesiastical domains be restituted, and Alsatia be returned to the German princes with all their rights of sovereignty and feudality confirmed."

The reading of this impudent message to the Assembly created intense feeling. Expressions of indignation and resentment and the demand for an immediate declaration of war were heard on all sides.

On the 20th of April General Dumouriez appeared in the Assembly with a declaration of war against Austria, approved by the King. The King himself addressing the Assembly then said:

"Having exhausted all means for the maintainance of peace, I come, by the terms of the Constitution, to formally propose to you war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia." (Francis II. not having yet been elected Emperor of Austria and Germany.)

War had previously been resolved upon by the Assembly, and would have been declared without the King's sanction, if necessary. Being aware of this, he now concluded to take a step in advance of the Assembly.

There are numerous authentic documents, easy of access to day, which would leave not a particle of doubt in the mind of the reader that Louis XVI. at that time was secretly conspiring with the enemies of France for the overthrow of the Constitution. It is proven by the "Memoirs Secrets" of the King's confidant, Bertrand de Molleville, Minister at the time, that almost the very day the King proposed to the Assembly his declaration of war he had approved sending the secret agent of the court, Mallet du Pan, to the King of Prussia. This man received detailed instructions partly written by the King's own hand before leaving for the enemy's camp. There he presented himself to the Duke of Brunswick, General-in-Chief of the combined armies. Mallet du Pan finding some of these dignitaries somewhat reserved, produced a letter, written by the King, himself, in the following language:

"The person which will present to you this paper knows

my intentions, and you may have confidence in what he will say to you, *in my name.*"

No hesitancy to communicate with the secret agent of Louis XVI. was thereafter entertained by either the Duke of Brunswick or the foreign ministers.

Mallet du Pan, who was entrusted by the King with the duties of a secret plenipotentiary, was publisher until April, 1792, of the royalistic *Mercure de France.* In his last number he reviewed the situation in France, which review made it necessary for his safety to leave the country.

"Of all forms of government," he said, "democracy, to a debased nation, is that which most certainly generalizes the passions by fomenting them. It fascinates the vanity, and *exalts the ambition of the most vulgar minds* —opens a thousand doors to cupidity in the desire to participate in power. Until our time, republican dissensions having been almost exclusively confined to the proprietors, the circle of popular ambition did not reach the lower classes, who, by their pursuits, their poverty and their ignorance, are *naturally* shut out from the administration; but now it is upon this very class that has devolved the formation, the empire, the government of the new political system. From the chateau of Versailles, and the ante-chamber of the courtiers, the supreme authority has passed, without any counter-balancing power, into the hands of the *proletaires.*"

With these words, Mallet du Pan took leave of his readers to devote himself to the King's service in foreign lands, where he would not be subjected to the danger of being called to account for his treasonable utterances. He was just the man the King required in this emergency. An absolutist from conviction, his heart full of hatred for the leaders in power, he was, of all the King's adherents, the best equipped to represent His Majesty's secret designs abroad.

His orders were, "to proceed to Berlin, Vienna, and, lastly, to Coblenz, to represent to the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, and the princes (his brothers), the situation of the kingdom, as well as the intentions of the King with respect to the war," etc., etc.

It must be borne in mind that this secret agent was spirited out of France in the month of May, after war had been declared, and at a time when a powerful army of more than two hundred thousand men stood ready to march across the frontier to attack her. In order to remove from the mind of the reader the least doubt concerning Mallet du Pan's authority, we quote from the account of his transactions, related by himself:

"Credentials were indispensable to me; the more so, as Germany had been inundated with secret agents, or pretended emissaries, professing to represent the will of the King, the Queen, and the French princes in turn. This multitude of emissaries, their indiscretion and jealous opposition to each other, had justly served to make such advances discredited. But I could not, without the most glaring imprudence, carry with me a written authority from His Majesty through the hundred leagues of country to be traversed before leaving France. The mail was no longer safe; transmission by hand would have rendered communications of its contents indispensable, which it was important to avoid. M. de Montmorin thought of making the authority of his Majesty come from the Count de Marcy d'Argenteau (former Austrian Minister at the French court), from whom I should receive it at Brussels; but correspondence with that ambassador having become precarious since the commencement of hostilities, it was decided by the confidential adviser of the King (Marie Antoinette), that M. le Chevalier Bertrant, brother of the Minister, should join me at Cologne, on his way to England; that he should bring me there

ulterior instructions, and the credentials, which would insure my recognition by the two sovereigns at Frankfort, their ministers and the princes — brothers of Louis XVI.

"I was ordered to keep my mission an inviolable secret; not to disclose it to any person, unless necessity demanded, except to the two monarchs, the princes—His Majesty's brothers, the Marshal de Castries, and M. de Bouillé. I was, morever, directed to consult M. de Castries, already informed of the intentions of His Majesty. In honoring me with his own confidence, His Majesty condescended to declare to me that he expected from my zeal success, of which he fully appreciated the importance; that I seemed to him more capable than anyone else of fulfilling that hope, and that he considered me especially qualified to demonstrate the necessity and wisdom of his plans, as well as the character of the conjunctions which called for their execution.

"It was in fact a very delicate negotiation, to present such important interests in their true light, and to advocate a system of combined direction *between the King and the two belligerent powers* — a system upon which depended the fate of their Majesties of France, and even of Europe itself.

"In a conversation of several hours had with M. de Montmorin at his house, and in the presence of M. Malouet, I begged that minister to communicate to me what he knew of the disposition of the allied powers. He answered my question with candor and precision; he showed me dispatches and official reports which justified his opinions; he did not conceal from me any of the embarrassments which I should have to encounter, etc.

"The fundamental object to which we directed our attention, and which was that of the private words and instructions of His Majesty, was the especial importance of making the war retain the character of a *foreign*

war of one power against another, in order to dispel any idea of collusion between the King and the two Courts; to bring the termination of the affair to the form of an arbitration between His Majesty and the foreign powers, on the one side, and, on the other, between His Majesty and the Nation."

Sometime before Mallet du Pan was taken into the confidence of the court, the Queen, who was fully aware of the plans of Dumouriez, wrote a letter to her Austrian confidant, Marcy, then at Brussels, in which she informed him that Demouriez, being convinced an agreement had been concluded between the powers concerning the march of the troops, had now the intention of beginning the war by an attack on Savoy and another on the country surrounding Liege. "It is the army of Lafayette," said the Queen, "which is to make the latter attack, so the ministers resolved yesterday, and *it is well to know their plans,* in order to put oneself on guard, and to be able to take all necessary measures. According to all appearances, this will be done quickly." It is true, the details of these conspiracies were not known by the people; rumors, however, of intrigues and of treasonable consultations of secret emissaries, etc., were continually afloat, arousing their distrust. Finally this suspicion reached conviction, and caused the gamins in the streets, at the sight of a minister's carriage, to exclaim, "Here goes one of the Austrian committee of the Tuilleries." France was thus placed face to face with the alternative, either to tamely submit, bend the knee to foreign despots and their allies—the King, the princes and emigrés at Coblenz—or resist to the death!

The Assembly chose the latter without a moment's hesitation. To offer to their enemies effective resistance, their object must be to paralyze the efforts of the traitors at home, and, under the inspiration of patriotism, to try and organize the fighting force of the country into battalions.

BARRÈRE.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISRUPTION OF THE GIRONDIST MINISTRY—RIOTOUS DEMONSTRATION OF JUNE 20TH—LAFAYETTE LECTURES THE ASSEMBLY—VERGNIAUD EXPOSES THE KING'S DUPLICITY—THE COUNTRY IN DANGER.

To add to the anxiety of the situation, a ministerial crisis threatened the country. The King claimed to have been insulted by M. de Roland and the two other Girondists of the Cabinet, and ordered General Dumouriez to furnish him with three names to supplant those three objectionable ministers. Dumouriez brought the list to the King, at the same time tendering his resignation as Minister of War, which being accepted, on the 17th of June he left Paris for active duty in the field. Thus was severed the last tie of confidence binding the Assembly to the Crown.

The Cabinet was now made up of obscure men with royalistic predilections, and the first official act was the transmission of two of the King's vetoes to the Assembly; the one against the decree in reference to the seditious priests, the other against the formation of a camp of seventy thousand patriotic soldiers, which troops the Assembly had deemed necessary for the protection of the capital against foreign invasion, and for its own safety against a possible *coup de main* on the part of the court. The veto of these measures aroused the ire of the clubs, and of the people of the faubourgs, and it was decided to make preparations for an immense demonstration in favor of the decrees. On the 20th of June, 1792, the third anniversary of taking the oath at the Tenis Court, a deputa-

tion was sent to the Council General of the Municipality of Paris for the proper authorization. This being refused, Santerre, the mover of the demonstration, and his friends determined, nevertheless, to carry out their plan. On the day appointed an armed mob of ten thousand men presented themselves before the Assembly with a letter from Santerre, asking that their petition be received. The deputation being admitted, its spokesman warned the Assembly, "that time for dissimulation had passed; that the King was not in accord with the people's representatives, and that the liberty and security of the French Nation should not depend upon the caprice of a single individual." After a quieting reply from the President, the Assembly gave its consent for the petitioners to march in a body through the hall. A disgraceful scene now followed: Santerre, at the head of the vulgar, ferocious rabble, armed with pikes, sabers, knives and sticks, entered the Assembly Chamber. One of these savages carried a calf's heart upon a pike, with the inscription: "Aristocrat's heart;" another flourished in the form of a banner, a pair of old tattered breeches, surmounted with the inscription, "*Vive les sans-culottes!*" This representative emblem was presented by Santerre to the President of the Assembly, as a token of friendship from the citizens of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, and was humbly accepted. From the Assembly this noisy mob, which had now increased to thirty thousand, proceeded to the Tuileries, where the King was subjected to many indignities. Notwithstanding their menaces and violent denunciations, they were unable to extort from the King the withdrawal of his vetoes and the sanction of the decrees. "This is neither the time nor the place," calmly replied the King. Mayor Petion finally succeeded in restoring order. Lamartine, in his history of the Girondists, as well as other writers, charge the Mayor with the responsibility of this demonstration.

The most distinguished among the Girondists, Vergniaud, Guadet, Isnard, Brissot, Condorcet and Roland, were almost strangers in Paris, and had no connection and consequently no influence with, the rabble of the faubourgs. "That day," says M. Thiers, in his "*History of the Revolution*," "was the work of no one in particular; it was the work of all. The conflict between the King and the people had become permanent since the former's flight to Varennes. The short period of the Girondist Cabinet intervened as a sort of armistice, and its sudden dismissal was a firebrand thrown into inflammable material; the Council General hoped to suppress the flame, but it was only repressed to take fire in the Assembly and Tuileries."

General Lafayette now appeared on the scene in the amusing role of arbiter between the King and the people, and censor of the National Assembly. Leaving his troops facing the Austrian army on the frontier, he arrived in Paris on the 28th of June, and presented himself at the bar of the Assembly. He informed the country's law-makers "that the indignities committed on the 20th, at the Tuileries, had determined him to come to Paris to preserve the liberty of the Assembly and of the King, and to request, in the name of the army and of all honest people, that the perpetrators and instigators of the outrages of that day be brought to justice."

In language of the keenest sarcasm, M. Guadet replied, expressing the sentiment of the astonished Assembly. "As soon as I heard of M. Lafayette's presence in Paris," said he, "I was seized with the consoling thought that our foreign enemies had been vanquished—the Austrians defeated! This illusion, alas! was of short duration. Our condition on the frontier is not altered, and yet Lafayette is in Paris! What powerful motive brings him here? Our interior troubles? He is apprehensive, perhaps, that

the Assembly is not strong enough to suppress them. He constitutes himself the mouthpiece of his army and of the honest people! Who are these? How can the army deliberate, and who are the honest people for whom the General pretends to speak?"

Lafayette, however, was not to be disconcerted. He had come to conquer the Santerre of the Revolution in the name of the King—with the Assembly, if possible; without it, if necessary. Had he not been the organizer and adored commander of the bourgeois militia, and would these valiant guards not follow his word of command? He did not seem to remember that his opponent, Petion, was now Mayor of Paris, and, more, the Queen still his relentless enemy. Thus it happened that his orders for a review of the National Guard on the following day were countermanded by Petion, and M. Lafayette, who had marched up the hill on the 28th, marched down again on the 30th, returning to his army not a wiser, perhaps, but a very disappointed man.

"He was astonished," says Guadet, "that the popular flood, which he had helped to raise, had passed beyond the limit he and his bourgeois friends had traced in the sand. They told the people, 'you are sovereign!' and now they were astonished that the people believed it. They answered, 'we have only followed your advice. You have arrested the King and his family; you have suspended him from his functions; you have delivered him over to us, bound hand and foot, and now, when we propose to prevent him from sundering his fetters with the means we are accustomed to use, you would treat us as enemies of the Nation.'"

The fact that General Lafayette was permitted to resume the command of his army, without even the attempt being made to punish him for his impertinence, speaks well for the patience of the Assembly. The posi-

tion he occupied, as commanding officer in the field, was one of his own selection. War had been declared, and the Austrian army was camped within two days' march from his own forces. To leave his post of duty under such circumstances, upon any pretext whatsoever, was to tarnish the brilliant military reputation, to say the least, he had gained in the American War for Independence.

The greatest danger menacing France at this time was not in Paris, but on the frontier, toward which the Duke of Brunswick was advancing with an army of 120,000 men — 80,000 Prussians under his immediate command, from the north, 20,000 Hessians, as many "loyalists" under Hohenlohe at his left flank, and the Austrian army approaching along the upper Rhine. This threatened invasion naturally increased the popular excitment from day to day, and the sentiment of hostility against the conspirators at the court arising, the situation seemed fraught with danger. The National Assembly in this portentous hour decreed that, when the peril of France should become extreme, it would formulate the danger in this simple sentence: "La patrie est en danger!" In view of this dreaded emergency, Vergniaud, the great orator of the Girondists, ascended the steps of the Tribune, and delivered one of those stirring appeals to his countrymen, similar to that of Patrick Henry in the early days of the American Revolution. He began with a statement of the situation of France; recalled the decrees of the Assembly which had been vetoed by the King; exonerated him, but accused his Cabinet of plotting treason. Step by step he unfolded the conspiracy carried on in the name of the King.

"The French princes," said he, "have endeavored to arouse all the courts of Europe against the French Nation. Is it to vindicate the dignity of the King that the treaty of Pilnitz was formed, and the monstrous alliance of the

courts of Vienna and Berlin concluded? Is it to defend the King that we have seen the ancient companies of the Royal Guards mustered under the standard of rebellion? Is it to come to the assistance of the King that the *emigrés* solicit and obtain positions in the Austrian army? Is it to join these valiant cavaliers of royalty that other valiants, full of honor and delicacy, abandon their posts in the face of the enemy, violate their oaths, steal the army chests, endeavor to corrupt the soldiers of the rank and file, and thus find their glory in cowardice, perjury, desertion, theft and assassination? Is it only against the National Assembly, and to maintain the splendor of the throne, that the King of Hungary and Bohemia levies war against us, and the King of Prussia is marching against our frontiers? In short, all the calamities which we are destined to suffer are threatened in the name of the King. Now, I read in the Constitution, 'If the King places himself at the head of an army and directs its forces against the Nation, or fails to formally oppose such an enterprise, executed in his name, he will be considered as having abdicated the throne.' I ask you, now, what is to be understood by a formal opposition? My judgment tells me that it is an act of resistance proportioned to the danger to be overcome. For instance, if, during the impending war, 100,000 Prussians should threaten one part of our frontier, and 100,000 Austrians another part, and the King, as supreme chief of the public forces, should oppose to each of these redoubtable armies *ten or twenty thousand men*, could it be said that he had exhausted the means of resistance and complied with the requirements of the Constitution? And if, in consequence of such plain violation of a sacred duty, the soil of France should be drenched with blood, the Constitution overthrown by the invaders, and the counter-revolution accomplished, after which the King should tell you, in justification, 'it

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is true that these enemies claimed to act solely to restore my power, vindicate my dignity, and restore to me my kingly rights, but I have proven to you that I was not an accomplice; that I obeyed the Constitution by placing armies in the field; it is true these armies were weak, but the Constitution does not prescribe their numbers; it is true I called them out too late to be effective, but the Constitution says nothing as to the time; it is true armies of reserve should have been early formed, but the Constitution is silent on this point; it is true that when our generals advanced victoriously into the enemy's country, I ordered them to halt, but the Constitution does not prescribe aggressive warfare—it prohibits it even; it is true that my Cabinet officers continually deceived the Assembly in regard to the number and disposition of the troops, but the Constitution leaves their appointment exclusively in my hands; it is true that the National Assembly has issued useful and even necessary decrees which I have refused to sanction, but the Constitution gives me that right, which I intend sacredly to maintain; it is true, at last, that the counter-revolution is an accomplished fact; that despotism will return into my hands the iron scepter of my ancestors; that I shall crush you; that you will writhe; that I shall punish you for the insolence of endeavoring to be free;—all this, however, I have done and shall do under the Constitution: who will dare to doubt my fidelity to that instrument and my zeal for its defense?' "

Suddenly changing his discourse from this form of arraignment to an earnest appeal, Vergniaud now asked the Assembly for a formal and forceable sign of its firmness and power. "In short," he says, "I implore this Assembly to call upon the people of France to rise *en masse!* to unite as one man against these insolent foreign despots, who dare to threaten a free people with the destruction of their Constitution!"

At the close of Vergniaud's speech, which was received with cheer upon cheer, he demanded that, "now the Assembly decree. *'La patrie est en Danger!'*"

Consequently, on the 11th of July, 1792, the following decree was adopted by an almost unanimous vote:

"Citizens! the country is in danger! The Assembly is permanent! Those of the Communes are also declared permanent. No public functionary shall leave his post. Every citizen capable of bearing arms and having served in the National Guards is to consider himself in active service. Every person in possession of arms and ammunition must report that fact to the authorities. Those who can not be provided with fire-arms will be supplied with pikes. Enlistment rolls for the formation of volunteer battalions will be opened at all public places, designated by a banner bearing the inscription, *'Citoyens! La Patrie est en Danger!'*"

The formal proclamation of this decree, which had been under discussion for several days, created throughout the provinces, as well as in Paris, the most intense excitement and enthusiasm, and the eagerness with which hundreds of thousands of sturdy patriots streamed toward the enrollment rendezvous, was *the most imposing manifestation of devotion to country and love of liberty ever recorded in the history of the world.*

This spontaneous uprising was, also, a complete refutation of the charge made by the fugitive princes and the emigrés to the world, that the French people had been seduced from their fealty to the King by a small number of ambitious demagogues.

It should be noted in this connection, that the King, owing to some unaccountable reason, had notified the Assembly three days before the publication of the "Public Danger" decree, of the hostile attitude of Prussia, at the same time expressing the hope that, in his effort to repel

the enemies of the country and of liberty, he might rely upon the union and courage of all Frenchmen.

At that precise time, however, Mallet du Pan, the King's trusted agent, was at Coblentz insisting, in the *name of the King*, upon the imperative necessity of hastening the publication of the manifesto "he had drawn up," as he says, "in accordance with the King's instructions."

Now the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was but a revised copy of that inspired by Louis XVI. to his agent Mallet du Pan.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK'S MANIFESTO—ITS EFFECT IN PARIS—A PARALLEL.—STORMING OF THE TUILERIES AUGUST 10TH—DEPOSITION AND IMPRISONMENT OF THE KING.

On the 19th of July the Emperor left for Frankfort to join the King of Prussia at Mayence, in order to come to an understanding with him in a final conference, which took place on the 21st. Two days afterward Mallet du Pan took his departure, and on the 25th appeared the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick.

The following is a verbal translation of the document:

"Tnose of the French National Guards who have fought against the troops of the allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be punished as rebels against their King!

"The inhabitants of all cities, towns and villages who shall dare to oppose the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and shall fire at them, either from the open field or from windows, doors, or other openings of houses, shall be punished summarily according to the rigorous laws of war, and their houses demolished or burned. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, are warned immediately to submit to the King; to place His Majesty in full and complete liberty, and to secure to him and to all the royal personages that inviolability which the laws of nature and of nations demand of subjects toward sovereigns. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will make all the members of the Legislature, of the departments, of the municipality, and of the National Guard of Paris, as well as Justices of the

Peace, and every one concerned, responsible with their lives for all that may happen; will have them tried by court-martial, without hope of pardon. Further, their said Majesties now declare, on their words as Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Tuileries be forced or violated, or if there be offered the least violence or outrage to the persons of their majesties the King, Queen, and of the royal family—moreover, if care be not taken to insure their security and liberty, they will execute an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance, and will deliver Paris over to military execution and total destruction!"

We learn farther from the "Memoirs and Correspondences of Mallet du Pan," that he was somewhat displeased with the "haughty" tone of this document. "It was not," he says, "what I had a right to expect; *certainly* it contained some of the points *I was appointed* to set forth; but the manifesto proposed *according to the King's words* would have dexterously inspired a salutary fear as well as confidence." History will care but little about Mallet du Pau's explanations, nor about his motives for making them; his admissions, however, are of momentous weight, as coming from the trusted confidant of the King.

They establish beyond refutation the fact that the suspicions of the people, as to the loyalty of their King, were well founded; that he actually and with premeditation violated his oath and sacred trust as King and Chief Commander of the national forces, by conspiring with the enemies of France for the invasion of her territory, and the overthrow of the Constitution he had sworn to respect and protect.

The effect of this infamous manifesto upon the French people, and in the midst of their enrolling excitment, may well be imagined. Instead of causing a revolution of public sentiment in favor of monarchy, as doubtless was anticipated by the King and his advisers, it turned the

people against the latter and the foreign powers with equal fury.

Was there justification for this feeling of indignation, disgust and hatred? No patriotic American who loves the free institutions of his country, and remembers its history, can reply to this question in the negative.

Let us for an instant suppose the improbable, by way of illustration, and draw a parallel between the conditions prevailing in France at this time and those of America during her struggle for independence.

France, after a sharp contest with absolutism, had succeeded in establishing a Constitutional Monarchy, to which the King had given his solemn assent. Assent was given by His Majesty and the nobility, however, with this mental reservation: to consider the contract binding only until a good opportunity offered to break it; to accelerate the opportunity they formed a conspiracy. The people became suspicious, and made threatening demonstrations, causing many of those concerned in the plot to fly from the country; the King attempted to follow them, but was arrested and brought back; the emigrés, to the number of twenty thousand, in secret communication with the King, succeeded in inducing foreign powers to declare war against France, and organized themselves into battalions and brigades to join them in the undertaking. Before entering upon active hostilities, however, they caused the foreign potentates to issue a manifesto, received through a secret agent of the King, threatening all Frenchmen who presumed to uphold their Constitution and oppose the armies of the invaders with death, and the ruin and desolation of the ancient Capital.

This was the situation of France at the date of the proposed invasion.

Now look at this picture: In 1776 the American Colonists issued their memorable Declaration, and war

with Great Britain was the consequence. America, also, had her emigrés, styled Tories or Loyalists. The "American and British Calendar" of 1781, gives the number of these Loyalists, who joined the Royal army, as high as 25,000, and Loyalists claimed in public documents, published in 1779 and 1782, "that the King had more Americans in his service than Congress had." They were engaged in the best-fought battles of the war. The "American and British Calendar" of 1782 contains the lists of officers of His Majesty's provincial troops, raised in North America. Among them we find the names of three Brigadiers, to be placed by the side of Benedict Arnold's. Those of an Inspector-General, four Deputy Inspector-Generals, a Muster-Master-General and a Paymaster-General; besides these, about four hundred Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains and Lieutenants, who held rank in the "Prince of Wales' American Volunteers," "King's American Regiment;" "Brigadier-General De Lanney's 1st, 2d and 3d Battalion, Royal Americans;" "New York Volunteers," "Volunteers of Ireland;" "Queen's Rangers;" "Orange Rangers;" "Royal American Regiment;" Loyal New Englanders;" "British Legion;" "Maryland Loyalists;" "Pennsylvania Loyalists, 1st, 2d and 3d Battalion;" New Jersey Volunteers," and many other military organizations.

Now suppose the Tories of New York, New Jersey, and other States had drafted a manifesto similar in form to that of the Duke of Brunswick, and had sent it across the border to their loyal brethren in arms, who then would have induced King George II. to issue it to the struggling American patriots, threatening death and the total annihilation of the City of New York in case they did not recant, lay down their arms, tear the Declaration of Independence into tatters, and humbly acknowledge the sovereignty of his Britanic Majesty! and, suppose further,

that instead of 3,000,000 there had been, as in France, 25,000,000, who had firmly resolved to be free and independent! What would have been the feeling of this American people? Indignation? No. Fury? No. They would simply have hung every Loyalist within reach, cut off his ears, and sent these trophies to King George as a fair reply to his manifesto, and the memories of their executioners would be rightfully honored to-day as the stern avengers of an insulted people.

The deep feeling of resentment at this offered outrage upon France first vented itself in energetic demands for the King's deposition. Numerous petitions to that effect from all parts of the country were received by the Assembly. The most incisive and most significant of these petitions, however, was that from the 48 sections of Paris, presented by Mayor Petion himself, on the 3d of August.

As if to add fuel to the excitement, the news reached Paris on the same day, that on the 30th of July the allied forces, consisting of 60,000 Prussians, with the King commanding in person; 50,000 Austrians, mostly veterans from the Turkish wars; 6,000 Hessians, and nearly 15,000 French emigrés, or over 130,000 men, supplied with field and garrison artillery, had entered French territory and were marching upon Paris. Unless the Assembly took prompt action in the matter, and in a formal and legal decree declared the throne vacated, a general insurrection and consequently violent deposition of the King was now inevitable. One of the most turbulent sections, that of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, had, on the same day on which Mayor Petion presented his petition, formulated a resolution to the effect "that, Sunday the 5th, their sections in conjunction with those of the Faubourg Saint Marceau, at nine in the morning would assemble under arms at the Place of the Bastile; that the *generale* be beaten

for that purpose; that the 1,500 Marseillais who, upon Barbaroux's request, had come all the way from the southern extremity of France, to aid in an emergency, be invited to join the armed sections."

Upon the representations of Mayor Petion, it was finally decided to postpone the demonstration until the 9th of August, with the ultimatum, however, that if, at eleven o'clock of the same evening, their demands were not acceeded to, the alarm bell should be rung at midnight.

In the meantime, "The Secret Directory of Insurrection," composed of five members, had prepared its plan of attack on the Tuileries, and the day designated by the sections having passed without action on the part of the Assembly, as expected, the alarm bells were sounded.

At midnight in all parts of the city the dreaded cry, "To arms! to arms!" was heard from every side. In a short time the whole armed populace of Paris were streaming through its streets. It is difficult to exactly designate the principal instigators and organizers of this formidable insurrection. Some writers point to Danton as the moving spirit, others claim that Petion himself was concerned in it, which is not probable. Camille Desmoulins is also mentioned. Certain it is, however, that the movement was not spontaneous, but the result of a preconcerted and well-prepared plan, in which presumably all the most radical members of the Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs were concerned. Santerre, Commander of the National Guards of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, Westerman, an enthusiastic military man, Alexander, Commander of the National Guards of the Faubourg Saint Marceau, Carin, of Strassbourg, but most notably Westerman, were the most active and immediate leaders. The theory of M. Lamartine, and of others, that the Girondists had actively participated in this insurrection, is inconceivable, in view of the well-established fact that

they not only controlled a majority of the members of the Assembly, but had it in their power to depose the King without resorting to insurrectionary measures. Furthermore, it appears from the minutes of the Assembly, published in the official "Moniteur" of July 28, 1792, that an extraordinary commission had been appointed on the 26th, instructed to examine whether the King had rendered himself guilty of acts of sufficient gravity to justify his deposition. No report having been received nor requested by the Assembly, it may be concluded that they were not in sympathy with any hasty action.

However that may be, there is no doubt but that the *people*, having failed in their efforts to remove in a legal way the King, whom they now justly suspected of treachery and in secret communication with the invading powers, were determined it should be done at all hazards—by force, if necessary; and public sympathy was in accord with a movement with this end in view.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 10th, that ever memorable day, which was to be the last in the reign of Louis XVI., the armed masses, in three separate columns, began to move toward the chateau of the Tuileries. The chateau was guarded by from 800 to 900 Swiss, some municipal guards and 300 noblemen, who had hastened to the assistance of the royal family. There were, also, two battalions of the National Guards and a few French Guards stationed there, whose sympathies were, however, with the people. At eight o'clock the King was informed by M. Roederer, the Attorney-General, that the lives of his family and his own was in the greatest peril, and nothing but immediate flight to the Assembly Hall could avert a calamity. The Queen protested, but time was pressing, when the King, finally convinced of the desperate situation, led the way, and the Queen, hesitatingly, followed. They were escorted by 300 Swiss Guards, and

CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

it was only with great difficulty and by forcing their way through the infuriated mob that they finally reached the Legislative Hall. The King thereupon addressed the Representatives, Vergniaud occupying the President's chair. "I have come here," said he, "in order to prevent a great crime. I hope there is no safer place for me than in your midst." After a short reply from the President assuring him of his safety, the King and his family were assigned to the office of the Logographer, and subsequently transferred to the Temple—a prison. In leaving the chateau, however, the King, in his perplexity, had omitted to issue the order to his faithful guards not to offer any resistance to the insurgents, and therefore, when these demanded admittance their request was refused. Westerman endeavored to convince the officer in command of the futility of resistance, but without avail; and some stray shots having been fired from the guns of the people, the Swiss Guards replied with a terrific volley of musketry, killing and wounding a large number.

The fight now began in earnest, and for over an hour the booming of canon, the rattle of musketry, and the cries and shouts of the infuriated assailants rent the air with a deafening tumult of sounds. During the assault which followed the slackened fire of the beseiged, few of the defenders remained to tell the tale of the day's slaughter.

Of the poor Swiss, who had fulfilled their duty, as they understood it, hardly a hundred escaped.

Was it a fatality, a warning to free Switzerland to discontinue sending her sons for mere pecuniary gain to garrison the foreign castles of despotism?

It was a bloody day which terminated royalty in France, for the time being; it was the only method, however, her people could employ to put an effective stop to the *fire in the rear.*

The King was formally suspended from his functions, and the executive power of France passed from the royal palace to the people's representatives in the National Legislature. Only apparently, however, for henceforth the brutal force of anarchy ruled almost supreme.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ANARCHISM RAMPANT—THE MASSACRES OF SEPTEMBER.

The insurrection of the 10th of August had succeeded as far as the deposition of the King was concerned, but had played havoc with the sovereign will of the people, now supposed to be vested in the Legislative Assembly.

A handful of anarchists, through the captivating watch-word of "French unity," had succeeded in drawing the turbulent spirits into the Jacobin Clubs established in every part of the country; these they now controlled, and together proceeded to call themselves "The People of France." The legally elected representatives, to these were of no more importance, nor were possessed of more power than the deposed King.

Danton, of the Cordeliers' Club, and Robespierre, of the Jacobin Club, as chief anarchists in command, with the Marats, the Collot d'Herbois', the Talliens, etc., as lieutenants, stood now at the helm of the tottering State.

These desperate men controlled not only the clubs, but what has become so notorious in the history of the Revolution, the Commune of Paris, composed of 150 members chosen equally from the 48 sections—that is from the turbulent elements of the city. The day after the deposition of the King, Robespierre was elected a member of the Commune by one of the sections, and on the same day the Assembly, by force of circumstances, was compelled to appoint Danton Minister of Justice—that is, Prime Minister of France. The epoch of violence and of bloodshed was thus fairly inaugurated. Robespierre's speech at the bar of the Assembly, in the capacity of a special envoy of

the Commune, on the 15th, and Danton's violent order against the "suspects," clears away all doubt upon this point. An extraordinary commission had been appointed by the Assembly to sentence the remaining Swiss defenders of the Tuileries. The Commune, thirsting for more blood, demanded that the prosecution include all the conspirators of the 10th of August—that is, all those who had spoken or acted in defense of the King. This being refused by the Assembly, the Commune threatened another violent outbreak, and appointed a deputation to inform the Assembly of their ultimatum. Robespierre was spokesman. "The people rest," said he, "but do not sleep. They demand the punishment of the guilty, and they are right. You (the Assembly) must not give them laws contrary to their unanimous sentiments. They demand that the guilty be judged by a body of commissioners—a new judicial tribunal—selected by the sections without appeal." The Assembly was amazed at this piece of audacity and cruelty. But, terrified at threats of another uprising, and well aware that all those not in favor or who refused to vote for the sanguinary measure would immediately fall victims to the "resting mob," the decree was adopted, but with the hope that its sinister purpose would in some providential manner be arrested.

From that unhappy day the power of the Commune increased and its measures in like manner increased in violence. Without authority from the Assembly, it issued, on August 18th, orders for the arrest and imprisonment of the wives and children of the emigrants, and, on the 23d, ordered the seizure of all their property and personal effects. On the 27th this same tribunal had passed the sentence of death upon seven "suspects," but, in the midst of the proceedings, the news came that the Prussians had taken Longevy, which defeat had the effect of perceptibly cooling their ardor, and the sentences were suspended.

Still thirsting for blood, it was agreed between Marat and Danton that the extermination of all suspects holding extreme royalistic sentiments had come to be a necessity. Thereupon Danton appeared in the Commune and proposed an order for the apprehension or arrest of all those who had signed petitions against the punishment of recalcitrant priests, and against the decree calling for the organization of an army for the protection of the Assembly and Paris. He further suggested an order for the closing of the city gates during, what was soon to begin, the domiciliary visits. These visits were to be paid to the houses of all suspected of giving aid and comfort to royalty or royalists, or harboring sentiments averse to the manner in which affairs were being conducted by the leaders of the Commune.

On the 29th the secret order for the "removal" of suspects was to be carried out. The gates of the city were closed, and the work of examination begun.

"Let the reader fancy to himself," says an eye witness, "a great metropolis, the streets of which the day before were alive with the concourse of carriages, and through which citizens were constantly passing and repassing—let him fancy to himself, on a fine summer evening, streets thus populous and animated, suddenly struck with the silence of the grave; everybody retires to the interior of his house, trembling for life and property; all are in fearful expectation of the events of a night, in which even the efforts of despair are not likely to afford the least assistance to any individual. The sole object of the domiciliary visits, it is pretended, is to search for arms, yet the barriers are shut and guarded with the strictest vigilance, and boats are stationed on the river, at regular distances, filled with armed men. Everyone supposes himself informed against. Everywhere persons and property are placed in concealment. Everywhere is

heard the sounds of the muffled hammer, with cautious knock completing the hiding-place. Roofs, garrets, sinks, chimneys—all are just the same to fear. One man, squeezed up behind the wainscot, was nailed back, and now seems to be part of the wall; another is suffocated with fear and heat between two mattresses; a third, nailed up in a cask, loses all sense of existence through the tension of his sinews. Apprehension is stronger than pain. Men tremble, but do not shed tears; the heart shudders, the eye is dull, and the breast contracted. Women on this occasion display prodigies of tenderness and intrepidity. It was by them that most of the men were concealed. It was one o'clock in the morning when the domiciliary visits began. Patrols consisting of sixty pikemen were in every street. The nocturnal tumult of so many armed men, the incessant knocking upon doors for the people to open; the crash of those that were burst from their hinges; and the continual uproar and revelry which took place throughout the night in all the public houses, formed a picture which will never be effaced from my memory."

It is very easy to imagine the opportunities thus offered for the gratification of private revenge; for not only the nobles, or those who had been connected in one way or another with the royal court, were apprehended, but "all who had base enemies capable of revenging themselves through a complaint or by denunciation," were consigned to prison. These drag-nets were under the direct charge of a committee chosen from the Commune, whose orders were executed before their own eyes. Those apprehended —of whom it is stated there were not less than fifteen thousand—were taken from their houses to the committee room of their section. The members of each section, being acquainted with the life and opinions of the persons living in their particular districts, were naturally the best

judges of the opinions of their neighbors. After examination all were sent to the City Hall, from whence they were distributed among the fourteen or fifteen prisons of Paris.

On the 30th a joint consultation took place between the members of the cabinet and those of the legislative committee for Public Defense, to consider the state of public affairs in view of the approach of foreign enemies. One of the members having proposed the removal of the seat of government to a place further south, Gaudet, Vergniaud and Danton sternly rejected the idea. "Paris," said Danton, "represents France, and to abandon Paris to the enemy is to abandon the revolution. We must, therefore, maintain ourselves here with all the means in our possession, and save ourselves with audacity. There is known to be a royal directory in Paris who are in correspondence with the officers of the Prussian army. We can not tell where they meet nor who they are; but, in order to discover and prevent their treasonable plottings, we must—we must terrorize all royalists."

These last words Danton accompanied with a gesture which horrified the committee; it was not interpreted, however, as a threat to cut the throats of the unfortunate suspects arrested the night before. That was, however, just what was meant. The details had all been arranged by the sanguinary Triumvirate—Danton, Robespierre, and Marat.

On the 1st of September news was received that Verdun, one of the strong fortresses in the north of France, was invested by the enemy. It was not true, however, the rumor being set afloat doubtless for a purpose—to increase public excitement. Danton immediately after appeared in the Commune and advocated the adoption of a decree, calling for the ringing of alarm bells, the firing of cannon, and the assembling of all arms-bearing citizens to the

Champ de Mars the following day, where they were to remain encamped until the day after, when they would march to Verdun. In support of his lying decree, Danton said:

"The tocsin, which will be sounded, will not be the signal of alarm, but the signal of an assault to be made upon the enemies of the country. To be victorious, gentlemen, we must have audacity! Again I repeat, audacity! Always audacity, and France will be saved!"

The Assembly was deceived by Danton's "audacity." Average human nature was not able to conceive the possibility of a man occupying the position of Minister of Justice deliberately planning the wholesale butchery of thousands upon thousands of defenseless prisoners. The eyes of the Assembly were turned toward Verdun, which they believed invaded, and was then perhaps taken by Prussian troops ; consequently Danton's apparent candid appeal in support of his cruel decree, not being understood was received by the Assembly with enthusiasm and brought the noble Vergniaud to his feet, who electrified his colleagues with one of his eloquent outbursts of patriotic fervor, and in consequence the decree was adopted. But sinister rumors were afloat in the cafés and upon the streets of Paris; it was felt that some frightful catastrophe was upon the point of taking place. It became noised about that some of the prisoners had been set at large without trial by Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Tallien, and others, those whom they wished to save. Early on the morning of the 2d of September it was observed that the women and children imprisoned in the Abbey—an old convent—were set at liberty; that the turnkey brought the noon meal earlier than usual, and also that he had removed all the knives from the cells of the prisoners.

At about the same time the section of the Faubourg Poissonnière adopted a resolution, evidently inspired from

MARIE ANTOINETTE ON TRIAL.

a higher source, "that the State prisoners actually detained in the prisons of Paris and Orleans be put to death previous to the departure of the citizens to the frontiers of Verdun." This horrible resolution was communicated to members of other sections, and at two in the afternoon the butchery began with the massacre of twenty-four priests while on their way to the prison. Maillard, whom we have seen at the head of the woman's procession marching to Versailles, acted as judge, assisted by a number of "killers," possessed of lists of prisoners which had been previously revised by Minister Danton. One after another of the unfortunates were brought face to face with this judge, who, without check save his own supreme will, in a few minutes decided their fate. They were asked but few questions. If found not guilty, Maillard raised the point of his sword, and the prisoner was set at large; if guilty, its point was lowered and the accused ordered to be taken back to prison, which signified death, for at the door the doomed victim fell upon the picks and swords of the "killers" especially appointed and paid for their bloody work. Similar sanguinary proceedings were instituted in all the other prisons of the city, and the assassinations did not cease until the prisons were empty. Madame de Lamballe, the personal confidant and friend of the Queen, was murdered on that terrible day, her head stuck on a pike and exhibited to the horror-stricken Queen at the windows of the Temple. The last victim fell on the 6th of September; so that it may be said for five days the prisons of Paris were transformed into butcher-pens. Orleans, Versailles, and other cities were the scene of similar atrocities. Thus was Danton's programme executed to the letter.

Writers of the Revolution have attempted to smooth over these barbarous assassinations with the excuse that the approach of the Prussians, and the continued conspir-

ing in the circles of the nobility, had excited the people of Paris to a state of uncontrollable ferocity. These efforts will prove unavailing when the fact is considered that the French people were not a party to these atrocious deeds. A mere handful of men with *audacity* and power premeditated and planned them. Danton, Marat, Camille Desmoulins, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, Tallien, Robespierre, Billaud-Varennes, and a few others of the Committee of Surveillance, posterity must hold as authors of the "September Horror." Their instruments were hired gangs of robbers, thugs and murderers, with which Paris had become infested during her two years of disorder.

"The small number of those who perpetrated these murders, under the eyes of the Legislature," says Allison, "is one of the most instructive facts in the history of revolutions. The number actually engaged in the massacres did not exceed 300, and but twice as many more witnessed and encouraged their proceedings; yet, this handful of men governed Paris, and France, with a despotism which 300,000 armed warriors afterwards strove in vain to effect. The immense majority of the well disposed citizens, divided in opinion, irresolute in conduct, and dispersed in various quarters, were incapable of arresting the progress of the assassinations. It is not less worthy of observation that these atrocities took place in the heart of a city where above 50,000 men were enrolled in the National Guard, and had arms in their hands!"

The number actually slain has never been fully ascertained, but variously estimated at from five to eight thousand. The remains of the victims were thrown into trenches previously prepared by the Municipality, and subsequently their bones put up in piles in the catacombs of Paris. On the same 2d of September, when these butcheries were inaugurated in the capital, "the Committee of Surveillance," with Dantonian audacity, addressed

the following circular to all the Communes of France, in which they endeavored to explain the necessity of their barbarous action, and invite them to follow their example:

"Brethren and friends.—An infamous plot, hatched by the court, to murder the patriots of France—a plot in which a great number of the National Assembly are implicated—having on the 9th of last month, reduced the Commune of Paris to the cruel necessity of employing the power of the people to save the nation, *it has not neglected anything to deserve well of the country, etc.*

"Proud of enjoying to the fullest measure the confidence of the nation, and which it will strive to deserve more and more, and determined to perish for the public welfare, it will not boast of having done its duty until it shall have obtained your approbation and all the Departments have sanctioned its measures for the public weal.

"Apprized that barbarous hordes are advancing against it, the Commune of Paris hastens to inform its brethren in all the Departments, that part of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons have been put to death by the people—acts of justice which appeared to them indispensable in order to impress the legions of traitors, which encompassed them as a wall, at the moment when they were about to march against the enemy.

"No doubt the Nation, after a long series of conspiracies, which have brought it to the brink of the abyss, *will eagerly adopt this useful and necessary expedient;* and all the French will say like the Parisians: 'We are marching against the enemy, and we will not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and children.'" This infamous circular was signed by seven members of the committee, editor Marat being one of them, and undoubtedly the one who penned the document.

Thenceforth, the Commune considered itself "the power" in the State; it not only had terrorized all its

opponents in Paris, but had successfully checkmated the National Assembly in its effort to subject the Commune to its decrees. Its commissioners were sent to the neighboring departments to apprehend so-called "suspects," and to seize upon silverware and valuables of every description. These acts of lawlessless on the part of the Commune soon found imitators among the gangs of malefactors, who had executed their orders of the 2d of September.

On the 14th, Minister Roland reported to the Assembly an account of the daily robberies committed in the streets of Paris; of peasants coming to the city who were attacked in broad day-light and relieved of their money, watches and jewelry, and, also, that house-breaking was of daily occurrence. On the 17th the *Garde-meuble* (National store-rooms) were broken into, and the diamonds and other jewels, valued at millions, were taken away. Such was the state of Paris at the time the term of the Legislative Assembly was about to expire.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BATTLE OF VALMY.

Before taking leave of this assemblage of well-meaning but timorous men, it is well to understand exactly where to place the responsibility of the violent form the Revolution had now assumed.

M. Guadet, the nephew of the great Girondist of that name, in his history of the eminent men of the Gironde, charges the Constitution of 1791 with the subsequent disorders and violences. If M. Guadet wished to convey the impression that the Assembly had not been clothed with distinctive powers for unforeseen eventualities, he was probably correct; this absence of specific constitutional provisions does not excuse the Assembly, however, for having failed to perform the solemn duty of proclaiming the throne vacated, after it had been actually abandoned by its rightful incumbent. From the moment Louis XVI. departed from the Tuileries, either to escape to foreign lands, or, with hostile intent sought to reach the camp of General Bouillé, the Legislative Assembly was the only legally constituted, supreme authority in existance to which the people of France could look for a solution of the problem. The Assembly failed in the hour of greatest emergency to respond to this confidence, and failed to fulfil its sacred duty, by not informing the Nation of the actual status of affairs, to wit: "that the French throne has been vacated by its incumbent." But by taking a step entirely outside of the Constitution, by assuming unconferred authority, and in direct opposition to the expressed wishes of the French

people, the Assembly replaced the deserter upon the throne, and thus forced the issue into the hands of the Robespierres, the Dantons and the Marats.

The Constitution of 1791 guaranteed to the French people all the liberties they desired, and the elimination of the few provisions referring to royalty was all that was necessary for the peaceful establishment of the Republic upon a firm basis.

The 20th of September, 1792, is a date chronicling two important events in the Revolution; the one transpiring in Paris, the other in the field. The first, the meeting of the newly elected Deputies to the National Convention, assembled at the Tuileries and elected Petion, president, Brissot, Condorcet, Vergniaud, Rabaut St. Etienne, Lasource and Camus, secretaries, giving the Girondist party the organization, and the controlling influence in the convention. The other event of great influence upon the future destiny of France, was the successful repulse by General Kellermann, under Dumouriez, of the Prussians at Valmy, known in history as the "Cannonade of Valmy."

The reader will remember that in the early part of July, the French army was divided into three divisions; that of the North, commanded by Luckner: the center under Lafayette, and the south, under Montesquiou. Dumouriez, after resigning his seat in the Cabinet was assigned to the army of the North, but General Luckner, imbued with the spirit of Lafayette, and suspecting Dumouriez of Jacobin sympathies sent him to an unimportant camp near Maulde, where he intrenched himself and with his small contingent of troops occasionally engaged similar detachments of the enemy.

Lafayette, in the hope of being able to better serve the King, arranged with Luckner for an exchange of commands, by which Luckner was to go to Metz and Lafayette to Sedan. Dumouriez had been ordered with his

small command to follow Luckner to Metz, but was suddenly confronted by the enemy who threatened an attack. After the insurrection of the 10th of August Lafayette's correspondence with the King, in which he proposed a plan for a second attempt at flight, having come to light, he was accused of treason, and three commissioners were sent to Sedan to arrest and bring him back to Paris. These emissaries were seized and placed in confinement. This action exasperated the Assembly, and on the 19th of August, the Assembly declared Lafayette a traitor to the country, and despatched other commissioners to release their predecessors and to apprehend the General. Dumouriez having declared himself in favor of the insurrection of the 10th of August, and the defection beginning to permeate Lafayette's own troops, the only alternative left him was sudden flight across the borders, or death upon the scaffold; he chose the former, and on the 20th, accompanied by a few servants he left his camp, and reached the Austrian lines on the following day. Here, contrary to all rules of war he was treated as a criminal, and detained for several years in an Austrian prison. This is not the place to criticise or apologize for Lafayette's conduct. Whatever his mistakes may have been, impartial history accords him the strictest honesty of intention, with virtues far out-weighing his faults.

Upon the report of the Commissioners, Dumouriez was placed in chief command of the three armies by the Assembly. The situation was far from being hopeful. An army numbering 120,000 men spread over a territory of several hundred miles, composed to a great extent of raw recruits, would not be able to resist a formidable attack at any special point on the line.

The army of the Allies, on the other hand, numbered 138,000 men, mostly veterans of active service, which could be concentrated in a short time upon a given point

of attack. The enemy, with the advantage at the outset, and conscious of their superiority, were almost certain of victory.

Early in August the forward movement begun. The French army were illy disposed in the first place to withstand an attack from such a mass of forces. Lafayette's old army, 23,000 strong, disorganized by the departure of its general, and weakened by its uncertainty of sentiment, was camped, as before stated, at Sedan. Luckner's command, composed of 20,000 men, occupied Metz, and, the same as the others, had just received a new General, namely, Kellermann (the father of the celebrated Kellermann whose glorious charge decided the battle of Marengo). The Assembly, dissatisfied with Luckner, nevertheless had resolved not to dismiss him; but in transferring his command to Kellermann assigned to him the duty of organizing a new army of reserve. Custine, with 15,000 men, occupied Landau, and Biron, with 30,000, was posted in Alsace. The only troops, therefore, directly available to oppose the invading armies from the North were the 23,000 men of Lafayette's former command and Kellermann's 20,000 at Metz. We have seen that the Prussians had advanced as far as Longwy and that its gates were opened to them, on the 22d. After taking Longwy, they advanced upon Verdun, which it will be remembered furnished to Danton and his fanatical co-workers, the opportunity to incite fear and irritation so that the domiciliary visits and the indiscrimnate slaughter of the suspects might not be interfered with.

After the capture of Verdun on the 2d of September the enemy remained inactive, giving Dumouriez time to enter the almost impenetrable forest of Argonne, thus placing himself between the Prussians and Paris.

One of the passes not having been sufficiently guarded, it was attacked and carried by the Prussians when

Dumouriez was compelled to fall back upon a new line of defense. The reverses of the French army had not been fatal, but their frequency had seriously affected the "morale" of the new levies, and unless their spirits could be revived by some successful battles, the advance upon Paris might have turned out a "military promenade," as the King of Prussia himself had coolly prophesied. This favorable turn came at Valmy on the 20th of September, 1792.

M. Thiers thus describes this first successful struggle of the French volunteer soldiers against the battle-scarred veterans of Prussia.

"It was now noon. A thick fog which had enveloped the two armies had cleared off, and each had a distinct view of the other. Our young soldiers now beheld the Prussians advancing in three columns, with the assurance of veteran troops habituated to warfare. It was the first time they had found themselves, to the number of a hundred thousand men, on the field of battle; they were about to cross bayonets, they yet knew not themselves—much less the enemy; they looked one towards the others with uneasiness. Kellermann went into the trenches, disposed his troops in columns, with a battalion in front, and ordered them, when the Prussians were at a certain distance, not to wait for their attack but to run forward and meet them with the bayonet. Then raising his voice, he cried, *Vive la Nation!* His men might be brave or cowards; the cry of *Vive la Nation!* however, roused their courage, and our young soldiers, catching the spirit of their Commander, marched on, shouting *Vive la Nation!* The astonished Prussians did not break up in disorder, but they halted in their onward course, and the Duke of Brunswick, perceiving the *elan* of the French troops, and apprehensive of a disastrous result, ordered a retrograde movement only to return to a second attack later in

the afternoon. This renewed effort to break the French lines being again repulsed, the Duke, for the time being, withdrew his forces, and, now, as if by enchantment, the whole aspect of the war was changed." The emigrés, who had represented to the Duke that the French army was composed of tailors and cobblers, who would not stand fire, were roundly abused, and they were notified that henceforth their advice in military matters would not be required.

FOUQUIER TINVILLE.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The people of France now began to nurse buoyant hopes for the future. The check the Prussian invaders had received at Valmy gave them the assurance that their patriotic sons were eminently able to maintain the Nation's territorial integrity, while at home, the prospect of a government to be established by the National Convention hourly grew brighter.

The elements composing this body justified this expectation. Of the seven hundred and fifty members, two thirds were of the bourgeois class, honest and industrious citizens in sympathy with the movement which had deposed the King. Strictly speaking, they were not Girondists and much less the followers of Marat and his teachings. From the former, they naturally held aloof, owing to their intellectual inferiority, and from the latter from feelings of horror, aroused through a knowledge of their complicity in the September assassinations. All, however, believed themselves unanimously in favor of a republican form of government and in the eternal abolition of royalty. These Deputies formed the Centre of the convention, the Girondists occupying the Right, and the Extremists, to the number of about one hundred, *mostly from Paris*, composed the Left, or the "Mountain," so called on account of their elevated seats. Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gensonné, etc., were the leaders of the Girondists, Danton, Robespierre and Marat, those of the Left. Politically, the Girondists may be said to have had democratic opinions of the Jeffersonian school. The following is the picture

of the two sides of this convention, as drawn by Garat, a most critical observer of the events of the Revolution.

"On the right of the convention, I saw both of these characteristics—that sentiment which refuses to be guided by any man's opinion unless that man speaks in the name of his country, and that greater republicanism, which has discovered what are the springs of action in the organization called society, and how the people composing it, can be united in a great republic; how equality, and at the same time submission to the magistrates will result in order and happiness; a government whose power shall always be absolute over individuals and over the multitude, and always submissive to the Nation and executive power; whose show and forms of useful splendor shall always awaken ideas of the splendor of the Republic, and never ideas of the greatness of the person.

"On the same side, I beheld seated the men best acquainted with those doctrines of political economy, which teach how to open and enlarge all the channels of private and of national wealth; how to combine the public revenue with the precise portions due it from the fortune of every citizen; how to create new sources for the increase of private fortunes; how to foster and *leave unshackled all branches of industry, without favoring any;* how to regard those great properties, not as bottomless lakes which absorb and retain all the waters poured into their bosoms, but as reservoirs, necessary for multiplying and nourishing the germs of universal fecundity. These were the Girondists."

But in Garat's description of the Extremists, the fact should not be concealed, that at the time the September massacres still rankled in the minds of all honorable men.

"On turning my eyes from the right side to the left, and raising them to the 'mountain,' what a contrast struck me! There I saw a man agitating himself with all

possible emotions, whose face, a copper-yellow hue, made him look as if he had issued from the blood-stained caves of cannibals, or from the scorching threshold of hell—a man whom, by his convulsive, abrupt and unequal gait, you recognized one of those murderers who had escaped from the executioner but not from the furies, and who seemed desirous of annihilating the human race, to spare themselves the dread which the sight of every man excites in them. Under despotism, which he had not covered with blood as he had liberty, this man had cherished the ambition of producing a revolution in the sciences; and he had attacked in systems more daring than ingenious, the greatest discoveries of modern times and of the human mind. His eyes, roving through the histories of ages, had dwelt upon the lives of four or five great exterminators, who converted cities into deserts for the purpose of repeopling those deserts with a race formed in their own image or in that of tigers; this was all that he had retained of the annals of nations; all that he knew and cared to imitate. From an instinct resembling that of ravenous beasts rather than from any deep vein of perversity, he had tried to see into how many follies and crimes it is possible to lead an immense people, whose religious and political chains have just been broken. This is the idea which dictated all his writings, all his words, all his actions.

"Beside him were seated men who could not themselves have conceived of such atrocities as had been committed, but who, being carried along with him, had reached a height which made them dizzy, and although they abhorred Marat they did not abhor making use of him. They used him to their own advantage; they put him in their van. As the horror of this man was everywhere, so one fancied he perceived him everywhere; one almost imagined that he was the whole mountain, or that the whole mountain

was he. Among the leaders, in fact, were several who found no other fault with the misdeeds of Marat than that they were too undisguised.

But among these leaders—and here nothing but truth makes me differ in opinion from many worthy men—among these leaders themselves were a great number of persons who, connected with others by events much more than by their sentiments, turned their eyes and their regrets toward humanity and wisdom, who would have had many virtues, and might have rendered many services at the moment when they should have begun to be thought capable of them. To the Mountain repaired, as to military posts, those who had much passion for liberty and little theory; those who supposed equality was threatened; those who, elected in hamlets and in the workshops, could not recognize a republican in any other costume than that which they themselves wore; those who, entering for the first time upon a public career, had to signalize that impetuosity and violence in which the glory of almost every great revolutionist began; those who, still young and better qualified to serve the Republic in the field than in its legislative hall, having seen the Republic start into existence amid the crash of thunder, conceived it was with the crash of thunder that it ought to maintain itself and promulgate its decrees. On this side, also, several of those deputies sought an asylum rather than a seat, who, having been reared in the proscribed castes of the nobility and the priesthood, though always pure, were always liable to suspicion, and fled to the top of the mountain to dispute the charge of not attaining the hight of principles. Thither, also, repaired, to feed their suspicions and to live among phantoms, those austere and melancholy characters who, having too frequently seen falsehood united with politeness, believe in virtue only when it is gloomy, and in liberty when it is furious. There ranged

themselves some of those minds who had borrowed from the exact sciences stiffness at the same time rectitude; who, proud of possessing knowledge immediately applicable to the mechanical art, were glad to separate themselves, in places as well as by their disdain, from those scholars, those philosophers, whose acquirements are not so suddenly beneficial to the weaver, or to the smith, and do not reach individuals until they have enlightened society in general. There, lastly, those who liked to vote, whatever might be in other respects their sentiments and their talents; who, from the springs of their character being too tightly wound up, were disposed to go beyond rather than to fall short of the limit that it was necessary to set to revolutionary energy and enthusiam.

"Such was the idea which I formed of the elements of the two sides of the National Convention.

"Upon these dissimilar characters composing the two antagonistic parties devolved the task of establishing a government for the anxious people of France. Already blood had been shed—shed without the form of law or authority—and a large majority of the Convention now demanded the punishment of these murderers and their accessories."

The Marats were in a hopeless minority, not only in the Convention but in the country, and to successfully compete with their antagonists it was necessary to create public hostility against the majority.

The plan which suggested itself to the fertile brain of Danton was to charge the Girondists with favoring the American system of government for France. The very suggestion of disturbing the *unity* of the country was obnoxious to the mass of Frenchmen, they considering "unity" one of the great achievements of the Revolution; to their understanding the advocacy of the federal system was the advocacy of the dismemberment of France. M.

Michelet, M. Thiers, and other historians of the Revolution, deny that such a plan was ever earnestly contemplated by the Girondists. It is well established, however, that in view of its beneficent application in the United States, some of the far-seeing Girondists, understanding the barriers the federative system would form against the arrogance and assumption of the Paris Commune, hoped for its establishment in France, but its advocacy was impracticable and even dangerous, owing to the almost universal sentiment prevailing against it. With the experience of the Americans under this system freshly before them, this short-sightedness of the French is quite inexplainable. We can not see why the peaceful federation of the provinces of Normandy, Languedoc, Picardy, Champagne, Burgundy and the thirty odd more provinces, would have dismembered France any more than the federation of the American colonies of the Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and those of New England could have prevented the establishment of the indivisable North American Republic. Outwardly, the American Republic is compactness itself. As such it has withstood foreign wars and a great civil war. A centralized American Republic, possibly, might have proven a more formidable antagonist, but it is easy of demonstration that, if left to its own resources, without the support of the moral and military power of the State unities, the Republic must have been disrupted in the late Southern Rebellion.

Centralized France could oppose no legal barrier to the spread of Jacobinism in the provinces. Her representatives, through the tyrannical sway of the Commune of Paris—which Danton called France—were so terrorized that the eighty-two departments of France were bound hand and foot and delivered to the despotism of mob rule ere the country was aware of its chains.

There is no doubt but that the terrible calamities which afflicted France immediately after the deposition of the King could have been averted by the adoption of the federative system.

The argument that, in many of the provinces, the priests, through religious fanaticism, were fostering an anti-republican sentiment, which agitation could only be suppressed by a powerful centralized government, might have been met by the statement that these very armed peasants were at first among the most enthusiastic friends of the revolution of 1789, and were represented by thousands of their most influential citizens and agricultural inhabitants of the provinces. Had the King been allowed to peaceably leave the country when he made the attempt, the refractory ecclesiastics would thus have been deprived of their chief argument against the establishment of a republic, federal or centralized.

Compare this religious schism in France to the slaveholder's schism in the United States, where almost one-third of all the States revolted against the Federal Union, and it is plainly appearent that their argument against the strength of the federative system has no foundation in fact.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GIRONDIST SUPREMACY.

The day following the meeting of the Convention that elected Pétion its President, abolished royalty, and established the Republic, Danton, with an air of self-abnegation, resigned the Ministry of Justice. Self-preservation, however, and the safety of his colleagues of the Mountain were probably the motives for this step. The two decrees that were immediately adopted by the Convention were, first, that of permitting the selection of judges outside of the legal profession, and, second, to extend the elective franchise to all Frenchmen having attained the age of twenty-one, and of good repute, to equality in the discharge of all public functions. The popular rejoicings over these decrees were, however, soon interrupted by the struggle which was about to begin between the Mountain and the Girondists.

On the 25th of September, the Deputies Buzot and Vergniaud prevailed upon the Convention to appoint a special committee for the preparation of a law against the instigators of disorder and murder, and for the organization of a Departmental Guard.

This was a direct blow at the Paris Commune, and an open threat to bring the instigators of the September massacres to the bar of justice, and with the assistance of a Departmental Guard, if necessary. The adoption of the decree in its present form was paramount to a sentence of death against Danton, Editor Marat, Robespierre, and their accomplices of the Commune.

The struggle against its passage was, therefore, one of

desperation, and almost the entire Convention became involved in its discussion.

In the evening the question being first brought before the Jacobin Club, the measure was denounced in unmeasured terms, and the Girondist representatives branded as traitors and disunionists. On the 26th of September Deputy Lasource informed the Convention that two-thirds of its members had been denounced as enemies of the Republic.

"I fear," he continued, "the despotism of Paris. I know of men who on the day of the September massacre designated eight representatives, who were to share the fate of those who were assassinated." The Convention became agitated, whereupon, one of the members, named Robespierre as the chief instigator of the cabal. He was followed by Buzot and Barbaroux, who charged Robespierre with aspiring to the dictatorship of France. Cambon said handbills had been circulated in which the establishment of a *triumvirate*, composed of Robespierre, Danton and Marat, had been recommended. Vergniaud said a circular had been sent by the Paris Commune to the country Communes recommending the *concentration and relinquishment of all governmental powers to the Paris municipality around which the Communes of France were expected to rally*. Another member read an extract from one of Marat's editorials, in which he had said: "Expect nothing more of this Convention; you are betrayed! Fifty years of royalty is your future! Nothing can save you but a dictator, a patriot, a statesman" (meaning Robespierre).

The issue between the Commune and the Convention was thus fairly raised. It was to be either a cowardly surrender by the latter of all its hopes for France to a self-constituted, arrogant faction at the capital, or the assertion of its sovereignty by taking measures to suppress the rampant anarchism of the Commune.

The Convention seemed determined to assert its authority. In order to proceed, however, in a legal manner, a request to the Minister of the Interior was decreed, asking him to inform the Convention of the obstacles, if any existed at the capital, to the enforcement of the laws, and to suggest such remedies as he deemed necessary.

In his reply, submitted on the 29th, Minister Roland said:

"The fall of royalty on the 10th of August brought into existence a new order of things. A temporary organization of the municipal powers of Paris was established. This Commune was necessary, and though it has its uses, it also has its defects. These should be remedied. At the time of its creation a foreign invasion was threatening the country. Indignation and consternation prevailed, and this state of feeling was seized upon by the unstable and dissatisfied to foment trouble. The Commune created by the Revolution, sustained by its most turbulent spirits, executed the laws or prevented their execution at its supreme will and pleasure. The Commune had forgotten that all revolutionary power should be temporary, and that submission to the legally constituted authorities is the only safeguard to true liberty." After citing numerous examples of arbitrary seizures of property, arrests, and the summary execution of individuals, Minister Roland continued:

"The idea of the people's sovereignty, misapplied, has the effect of familiarizing a small part of the people with insurrectionary habits. The view, that insurrection is a sacred duty against oppression, is abandoned, and revolt against true liberty is sanctified. This spirit of revolt, nursed by fault-finders, strengthened by the calumnies of unprincipled demagogues, is permeating society in every form. It has entered the sections of the Communes, and established a tyranny which has suppressed the free

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expression of sound sense; has supplanted argument with noise; as a consequence, the weak and timid are driven to the seclusion of their homes. To those remaining, might seems right; passion, energy, and savage ferocity, the expression of the popular will.

"The relations between the Commune and the convention having been confounded, the Commune has lost sight of its limits. In giving you the detailed facts of their arbitrary power, I have indicated to you its causes. They are, perhaps, the necessary consequences of a great movement, and a terrible Revolution with its disorganizing tendencies, developing both noble sentiments and atrocious passions.

"The weakness of the Legislative Assembly, just preceding you, the delay on the part of this Convention to adopt rigorous measures, are the primal and salient causes of this communal assumption of power, which will be perpetuated with the same impunity that the provocation to murder is now enjoying."

The report was ordered printed and distributed throughout the provinces.

Robespierre objected, but being interrupted, again protested, saying, "The report misrepresents the men who have deserved well of the country."

Again interrupted, he exclaimed, threateningly:

"There's not one here who dares accuse me to my face!"

"I dare!" cries Louvet.

"So do I," shout together Rebeccqui and Barbaroux.

"Continual assaults are made upon this convention;" said Louvet ascending the tribune. "In the press, in all public places; everywhere it is reviled and open insurrection urged against it, you must come out of this struggle victorious or humiliated; you must render an account to France, why it is that you tolerate in your midst, (pointing to editor Marat) a man whom the public cannot name

but with horror; you must, by solemn decree declare his innocence, or purge yourself of his presence. You must take measures against this disorganizing Commune, which is prolonging its usurpation of authority, and against the agitators of the clubs and of the press." Turning and facing Robespierre, he boldly accused him and his faction of attacking, at the sessions of the Jacobin Club, the most worthy patriots of the convention; he denounced him as an egotist who continually reviled others, while he showered the highest eulogies upon himself. He then charged Robespierre with claiming for himself and his faction the credit of the 10th of August (driving the King from the throne). "But," he added vehemently, "the credit of the 2d of September, you barbarous conspirators, is yours! You can glorify in that event, and forever claim for yourselves the title, 'Patriots of the 2d of September!'

"I accuse you, Robespierre, individually, of having calumniated the purest patriots in France. I affirm, that the honor of a citizen, and much less the honor of a representative of the people, is not in you! I accuse you of having maligned these patriots during the days of that horrible week in September, when your slander was almost fatal proscription! I accuse you of having terrorized by every means in your power, the Electoral Assembly of Paris, and lastly, of striving to seize the supreme power of France."

Danton, apprehensive of his own safety should Robespierre be indicted, hastened to the rescue and appealed to the members to heal their wounds and stop their dissensions; and in order to turn the fire of the Convention from the misdeeds of the triumvirate upon the Girondists, the supposed advocates of the federative system—he said:

"Another apprehension widely prevails, which must be dispelled. It is alleged that a number of the representa-

tives are conspiring to have the *federative system* adopted, and thus bring about the *dimembrement of France.* It is essential that we remain a *unit!* Declare, then, by another decree, *The Unity of France and its Government.* Having laid this foundation, let us bury our jealousies! Let us be united, also, and push forward to our goal."

In other words, declare by a decree that the sovereignty of the people of France is henceforth vested in the Commune of Paris, of which Danton, Robespierre and Marat are the dictators!

Robespierre followed in a similar strain, relating, as was his custom, the eminent services he had rendered to liberty. Like Danton, he laid great stress upon the suspicion which was abroad against a party planning the *parceling* of the country into a *number of small Republics."* Robespierre's remarks made no impression upon the Convention, and calls for an adjournment were heard. But before the members were permitted to take a breathing spell, they were to make the personal acquaintance of the most dreaded and most execrated man in France—Editor Marat. He had been denounced by one of the speakers for having published an anarchistic appeal in his paper, and he now asked to be heard in his own defense.

The very sight of his repulsive features called to the minds of the representatives the murders he had advocated, and, as he ascended the tribune, the cry of *"à bas! à bas!"* (Down! down!) was heard on every side. His appearance—the coat he wore, his necktie, his disheveled hair, everything about him—showed his studied efforts to gain the admiration of the rabble. It was the first time he had appeared in the tribune, and, casting the furtive glance of a tiger over the Convention, he began by calmly saying: "I have a great number of enemies in this Assembly."

"All! All!" was the tumultuous interruption. Appar-

ently unconcerned, Marat resumed: "I have a great many enemies in this Convention—personal enemies. I recall them to a sense of modesty. Let them spare their ferocious clamors against a man who has served liberty and them more than they can know. People talk of a triumvirate! of a dictatorship!—a plan which they attribute to the representatives of Paris. Well; it is due to justice to declare that my colleagues, and especially Robespierre and Danton, have always been hostile to it, and that I have always had to *combat them on this very point.* I was the first and the only one among all the political writers of France who thought of this measure, as the only expedient to crush traitors and conspirators. *It is I alone* who ought to be punished; but, before you punish, you ought to hear. Amidst the everlasting machinations of a perfidious King, of an abominable court, and of false patriots, who, in both Assemblies, have bartered away public liberty, will you reproach me for having devised the only means of salvation and of having called down vengeance upon guilty heads? No; for the people would condemn you if you did. They have felt that the only expedient left is to make themselves dictators, in order to deliver themselves from traitors. I have shuddered more than any other at the idea of these terrible movements, and it is that they might not prove vain that I have wished them to be directed by a *just and firm hand.* If, at the storming of the Bastile, the necessity of this measure had been understood, five hundred guilty heads would have fallen at my bidding, and peace would have been ensured from that time forth. But, for want of the display of this energy, equally wise and necessary, one hundred thousand patriots have been slaughtered, and one hundred thousand more are threatened with slaughter. As a proof that it was not my wish to transform this dictator, tribune, triumvirate—the name is of no consequence—into a tyrant such

as stupidity only conceives, but a victim, rather, sacrificed to the country, whose lot no ambitious man could have envied,—the proof of it, I repeat, is, that I proposed at the same time to have his authority limited to a few days, and his only power that of condemning traitors. In order to keep him constantly under the eye of the people, I suggested that a cannon-ball be fastened to his leg during his days of authority."

Shouts of laughter and expressions of disgust here interrupted the editor's harangue. Order being restored, he continued, suavely: "My views, revolting as they seem to you, tend to the public welfare. If you are not sufficiently enlightened to understand them, so much the worse for you."

Horrified and in a measure stunned by the utterances of this blood-thirsty fanatic, the Convention had allowed him to finish his speech. When he returned to his seat to the Mountain, he appeared satisfied that, if he had not convinced the members, he had pleased the mob assembled in the galleries, and that was his object.

Vergniaud now arose and apologized to the Convention "for being compelled to reply to a man dripping with gall and covered with blood." In his hand he waved the circular, posted by Marat all over the city, on the very day of the assembling of the National Convention, in which he had urged another insurrection.

The reading of some of its passages aroused the most intense feeling against its author. And the cry, "To the Abbaye! To the Guillotine!" was frequently heard.

The Assembly was about to vote on the question of his indictment, when Marat again insisted upon being heard. At last, obtaining the floor, he said "he would not disown the hand-bill just read, for falsehood had never approached his lips, and fear was a stranger to his heart. To demand a retraction of me," he continued, "is to require of me

not to see what I do see, and not to feel what I do feel, and there is no power under the sun capable of producing a reversal of my ideas. I can answer for the purity of my heart, but I can not change my thoughts."

Marat then had the audacity to warn the Convention of the danger of giving way to passion and prejudice, saying "that if his journal had not appeared that very day to exculpate him, they would have sent him blindly to prison, but," he added, producing a pistol which he always carried in his pocket, and which he now pointed to his head, "I have the wherewithal to remain free; and had you decreed my accusation, I would have blown my brains out on this very tribune. Such are the fruits of my labors, my dangers, my sufferings. But I shall now stay with you and defy your fury!"

Marat was as great a coward as he was a fanatic; but, knowing the galleries were filled with his adherents, he knew his dramatic exhibition would have its effect, and he knew also there was no need of suicide, just then.

Tallien, one of the murderers of the 2d of September, fearing the result of the Girondists' charges, arose and demanded "a cessation of these scandalous personalities." The majority of the Convention, not wishing at this time to provoke further trouble, assented, and after adopting the decree declaring "the French Republic *one and indivisible*," adjourned. By neglecting then and there *to decree the death penalty against any who should aspire to become Dictator of France, and by allowing Marat to escape unpunished*, the Girondists sealed their fate.

Danton having resigned the Secretaryship of Justice, Garat, an honorable but feeble man, was appointed by the Convention to fill his place.

Pache, a former officer in the Navy Department, a man friendly to the Commune of Paris, received the portfolio of War. Servan resigning, Roland, Clavière,

Lebrun and Monge were retained in the Executive Council; but under the overpowering influence of the committees of the Convention, they were now little more than a clerical body, charged with executing the orders of the Convention. Pétion, having been elected President of the Assembly, also resigned his position as Mayor of Paris, and Chambon, a member of the Jacobin Club, was elected in his stead.

The various committees of the Convention were as follows: That of Surveillance, with thirty members; of War, with twenty-four; of Accounts, with fifteen; of Criminal and Civil Legislation, forty-eight; of Assignat, Specie and Finances, forty-two, and, finally, a committee of nine, to prepare a draft for a new Constitution. This important committee was composed of Sieyès, Condorcet, Thomas Paine, (who had been elected to the Convention after being made a French citizen,) Gensonné, Vergniaud, Pétion, Brissot, Barrère and Danton. Robespierre was deeply mortified at having been excluded from this committee—not a member of the Mountain was appointed, however. The Girondists had now full control of the Convention, the Ministry, and of the army. The effect of the recent debate ought to have convinced the most short-sighted of their party that, unless their power was now used, the violent factions would eventually gain the mastery of the Convention. A vigorous policy against anarchism, the suppression of the Paris Commune, and the disarmament of the sections should have followed the organization of the house. The Girondists were supported by the moral weight of the country. A bold, firm stand could have made them complete masters of the situation. The salutary influence such an exhibition of energy and of sovereign will, not only upon the immediate surroundings of the Convention but upon the republican sentiment in France and elsewhere, would have had can only now be

properly estimated. While the Convention was engaged in a contest for control of the house, the peoples of the adjoining countries were imbibing the spirit of republicanism.

On the 21st of the month, while the flag of the Republic was being hoisted upon the Tuileries, the cannonade at Valmy had arrested the onward march of the Prussians, and in less than a month thereafter the tricolored emblem of the French Republic was cheered at Brussels by the Belgians, at Mayence by the Germans, and at Chambery and Nice by the Savoyards.

In less than two months the Republic had overflowed its borders, and the oppressed peoples of the neighboring states were already growing restive under its vivifying effect. The neighboring despots were becoming alarmed! The King of Sardinia was the first to move. An invasion of French territory, to seek revenge for some fancied injury, had been decided upon. He had massed a formidable army of veterans, with 200 pieces of artillery at the frontier ready to cross the borders.

The French army, under General Anselm, mostly composed of National Guards, with four pieces of artillery all told, received the order to advance upon the Sardinians which, under the circumstances, seemed a rash and senseless undertaking. No slaughter resulted, however. Not a shot was fired. The people and soldiers had felt the leaven of freedom, and cordial greetings superseded shot and shell. The grand army retired with its artillery, and Nice opened its doors to the soldiers of the new Republic. In Savoy an amusing scene was witnessed. At Chambery, the emigrés, numerous and insolent, having torn the tricolored cockade from the breast of a merchant, the Chamberians, in reprisal, attached the Royalist cockade to the tails of their dogs. General Montesquieu, who had been advancing cautiously towards Savoy, meeting with no

resistance, concluded to enter Chambery alone. He was received by the citizens with acclamations of joy.

On the Rhine, General Custine was met by German converts to republicanism and entreated to come and free Germany from despotism. Taking Spire without difficulty, he was invited to come to Worms, the doors of which were gladly opened to him. Under this inspiring influence a German professor issued an appeal to Custine and the French Republic, praying for the liberation of Germany. (By way of curiosity, it would be gratifying to know what was the after career of this professor.)

From Worms, General Custine was induced to march upon Mayence, garrisoned by a large army—supplied with formidable artillery. Her gates, at his approach, flew open as if by enchantment; not by treachery, as some writers would have us believe, but through the new fire emblazoned on the tri-color flag of France.

The Prussians even, about Verdun, after a short conference with General Dumouriez, who had been authorized to treat with the Duke of Brunswick, hearing that General Custine was threatening their left flank, commenced their famous *promenade militaire,* on the 27th of September—to the rear.

But while the Prussians were pleasantly promenading toward home, the Austrians crossed the frontier and for eight days bombarded the city of Lille, but without accomplishing more than the destruction of a few houses. Dumouriez was upon the point of marching against them, when they, too, deemed it the best policy to turn tail and evacuate French territory.

Thus it came about that, in less than thirty days after the Republic of France had been proclaimed, the back of the great foreign coalition against her was broken. At this time France was more powerful than she has ever been since—not in a military sense, but as the representative

nation of liberty in Europe, and it is safe to say, *but for the ascendency of Maratism in Paris, her emblem of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" might have waved from the spires of every royal palace in Europe.*

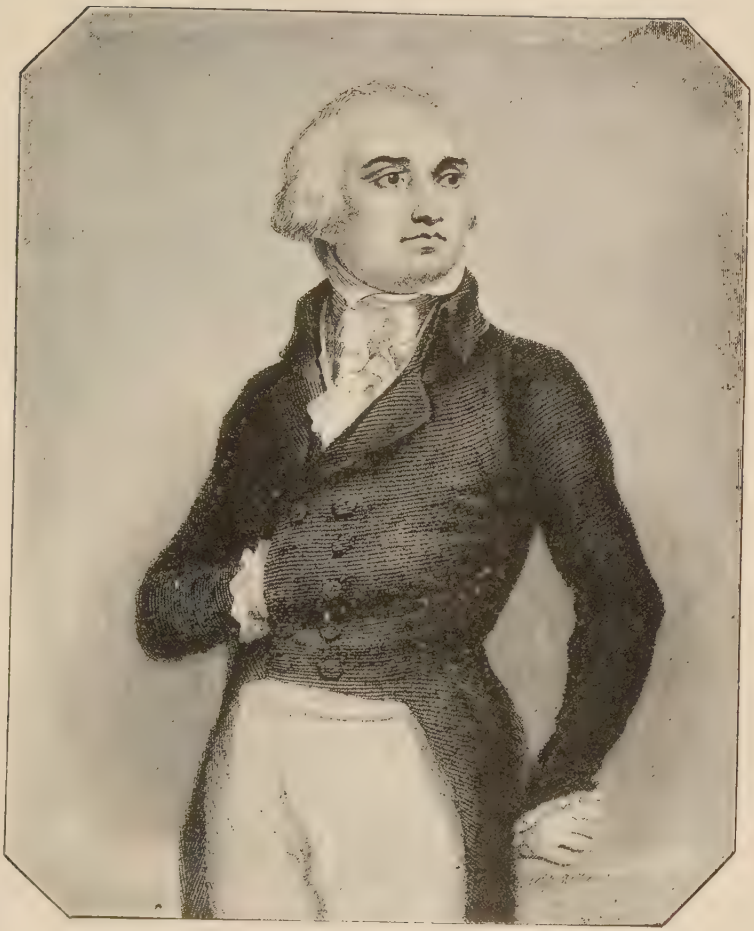
The people of France were not in a vindictive mood. They were satisfied; the Republic was established; the King was a prisoner in the Temple and could do no more harm through conspiration. A sentiment of pity for him and his family was becoming general—more general than the feeling of resentment. This phase of feeling was shown in the election of Pètion, a leading Girondist, and President of the National Convention as Mayor of Paris. But the Jacobin and her auxiliary clubs throughout the country seemed determined to stir up dissension. Danton, having failed in his effort to reconcile the Girondists, and seeing the evident determination of the latter to bring the perpetrators and instigators of the September atrocities to justice, allied himself more intimately with the implacable Robespierre for the purpose of annihilating his enemies. The imprisoned King, whose fate was about to be decided, was used as the stepping stone to this end.

In the early part of October the auxiliary clubs in the departments received a circular from the mother club in Paris, to the following effect:

"We are in the minority; to command we must place the Girondists in a position in which they may destroy themselves. By attempting to save the King, or by condemning him contrary to their known convictions, they will abase themselves in the eyes of the country.

"Let us demand the death of the King!"

This was the key-note of the war against the Girondists.



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CHAPTER XXVII.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

On the 1st of October the question of the disposition of the King was brought before the Convention by Marat and Merlin. The private papers which had been taken from the Tuileries and kept under guard since the King's imprisonment, were ordered to be examined, arranged and inventoried by a commission of twenty-four Deputies, to be called a Vigilance Committee. Some of the letters bearing on the King's guilt being ordered published, a lengthy and acrimonious debate followed.

On the 7th of November Mailhe read to the Convention the following report of the Committee on Legislation, to-wit: "Louis the XVI. can be tried. He must be tried by the National Convention. Three commissioners, to be chosen by the Assembly, shall be charged with the collection of papers, instructions and proofs relative to the crimes imputed to Louis the XVI.

"The commissioners shall end their report by specifying the crimes of which Louis XVI. is accused.

"If this information is accepted it shall be printed and communicated to Louis XVI., and his defenders, if he think proper to choose any.

"The originals of these papers, if Louis the XVI. demand to see them, shall be carried to the Temple by twelve commissioners (after copies of them have been taken), and afterwards carried back to the National Archives by the commissioners.

"The National Convention shall fix the day on which Louis XVI. shall appear before them.

"Louis XVI., either by himself or his advisers, shall present his defense in writing, and signed by him, or verbally.

"The National Convention shall give judgment by a majority of votes."

On November the 13th discussion upon the passage of the report begun.

At the very outset, Pètion, evidently speaking in the name of the Girondists, asked that the question of the King's inviolability be primarily discussed. This was a fatal error, for it involved the right of Revolution, and it placed the Girondists in the position of questioning the authority of the Nation to change the form of the French Government. If the inviolability of the King was recognized, or even debateable, the insurrection of the 10th of August was an unpardonable crime. If the King could do no wrong, the feast of the Confederates, and the oath taken by the people and by the King to respect and maintain the Constitution, was a veritable farce, since this oath only bound the people, while the King's inviolability was a bar against his prosecution for perjury and treason. The King's blood was only demanded by a very small minority of the Convention; not a single Deputy, however, from Marat to the most conservative, in the Centre, was willing to admit the illegitimacy, or surrender an iota of the achievement of the Revolution. Of all the pleas, therefore, to save the life of the King, this was the most injudicious; and from the moment it was formally made, moderation and clemency became impossible. The people, forgetting the King, became exasperated at this plea of infallibility, and the excitement growing out of its discussion furnished the Mountain the opportunity to cut the Gordian knot by demanding the King's immediate execution.

Who was to strike the first blow? Robespierre and

Marat, the most sanguinary members of the Convention, decided to assume the leadership of the movement. Guns of smaller calibre, however, were to be pushed to the front. Saint Just, Robespierre's youthful protegé and satellite, was thereupon selected to open the proceedings.

Not quite twenty-five years of age, Saint Just was, perhaps, the most fanatical anarchist in the Assembly. Through the incident of a private correspondence, he had attracted Robespierre's attention, by whose influence he was subsequently elected a Deputy to the Convention. In his delirium for the complete liberty of France, he had written some very poor poems; but undaunted, and imagining himself a Brutus,—"who must," as he once wrote to a friend, "kill himself if he did not kill some one else"—he was determined to excel his patron and master, Robespierre, in accelerating the annihilation of royalty.

The time was propitious for the activity of such fanatics, and the success of his efforts in bringing the King to trial must have been exceedingly gratifying to his vanity.

In addressing the Convention upon the question, he slowly ascended the steps of the tribune, and, with an impudent stare to the "Right," and the utmost self-complacency spoke as follows:

"Are you, the Committee, his supposed adversary, endeavoring to hunt up *forms* for bringing the ex-King to trial? You seem determined to make a citizen of him. I say, the King is not a citizen, and ought to be treated as an enemy; an enemy whom we should fight and not try. The day will come when people will be astonished to hear that we, in the eighteenth century, were found to be behind the Romans in the time of Cæsar, when tyrants were immolated before the eyes of a full Senate, without other formality than *twenty-three dagger wounds*, and without the delays of other law than the liberty of Rome!

The men who are to try Louis are the men who are to establish a Republic; those who have doubts of the guilt of the King will never be able to found a Republic. Some of the deputies seem to waver, and each approaches the question of the King's trial with his own peculiar prejudices and views.

Some seem apprehensive of having hereafter to pay the penalty of their courage; others have not renounced monarchy." Summed up in a few words, Saint Just's remarks signified: Kill! Kill the King without trial! Kill, as Cæsar was killed—unawares, and beware of those who do not cry, kill; they are royalists!

A plea for murder and proscription. This was the task that Robespierre and the mountain now charged Saint Just with. Death to the King, but at the same time death to the Girondists. Henceforth the slightest show of pity or clemency toward the King was to be made just cause for suspicion of royalistic and consequently anti-republican sympathy.

In order that the reader may form some idea of the nature of the debate upon the legality of the King's trial, the following speech of Henri Grégoire, Bishop of Blois, and author of the famous saying, "*L'histoire des rois est le martyrologe des nations,*" is here reproduced.

"Posterity will, perhaps, be astonished that it could be made a question whether a great nation can judge its first servant! But sixteen months ago, at this tribunal, I proved that Louis XVI. could be tried! Hisses were the reward of my courage.

Citizens, I come again to plead the same cause. I speak to just men; they will hear me with indulgence, and with the calmness of reason. The person of the King, we are told, is inviolable; therefore his inviolability ought to extend to all his acts. The answer to this proposition is easy. Legislators are equally inviolable," etc., etc.

"Absolute inviolability is a monster! It will impel a man to wickedness by assuring him of impunity for all his crimes. To declare a man inviolable, to entrust him with the care of preserving those laws which he himself may violate at pleasure, is to outrage not only nature but the Constitution. To admit absolute inviolability is to legalize perfidy, ferocity and cruelty."

Thus continuing at some length, Grégoire passes on to the consideration of the application of his principles to royalty, as follows:

"I maintain that Louis XVI. was never a Constitutional King. When he, deserting his post, fled to Varennes, he left a protest, in which he declared our new government vicious, and impossible to be carried into execution—the very Constitution he afterward appeared to value and accept. This protest, which was a real abdication, has ever since been the rule of his conduct. According to the terms of the Constitution, in retracting his oath, he is considered to have abdicated, and was there ever a man who so solemnly sported with the obligations of an oath? It was here, in this hall, that I said to the legislators, 'Louis will swear to everything and keep to nothing.' Was ever a prediction more completely verified? This same Louis told the Assembly, of his own accord, that the most dangerous enemies of the State were those who doubted his fidelity to France, and, returning to his palace, the den of crimes, he contrived and brought to perfection every iniquity against the people. I therefore move that Louis XVI. be brought to trial!"

A letter from Thomas Paine, who was unable to express himself in French, was read to the Convention, on the 20th of November, advocating the same course. "I think," said he, "that Louis XVI. ought to be tried—not in a spirit of vengeance, but because the measure is just, lawful, and conformable to sound policy. If Louis XVI. is

innocent, he can prove it; if he is guilty, let the National Will determine whether he shall be pardoned or punished.

"But besides the motives which personally affect Louis XVI., there are others which make his trial necessary. I shall unfold these motives in language best suited to their clearness, and in no other. There was formed among the crowned ruffians of Europe a conspiracy, which threatened not only French liberty, but, likewise, the liberty of all nations. Everything goes to prove that Louis XVI. was one of the partners of this conspiracy.

"You now have this man in your power, he being the only one at present of the band of whom France can make sure," etc., etc. "We have seen the unhappy soldiers of Austria, Prussia, and other powers, torn from their firesides and driven to carnage, to sustain, at the price of their own blood, the common cause of these crowned robbers. They have loaded the remaining inhabitants of these countries with taxes to pay the expenses of these wars. All this has been done to aid, solely, Louis XVI. Some of the conspirators have acted openly, but there is reason to believe that this conspiracy is composed of two classes of robbers: those who have boldly taken up arms, and those who have lent to the cause secret encouragement and secret assistance. It is indispensable that France and all Europe shall know who these accomplices are."

After mentioning the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the convening of the National Convention, had presented a statement of those governments of Europe which were public and which secret enemies of France, among them Austria, Sardinia, Prussia, and Hanover, Paine speaks of England's position as follows: "The long-subsisting fear of a revolution in England has, I believe, prevented this court from manifesting as much publicity in its operations as have the other courts," etc. "Everybody knows that the Landgrave of Hesse fights

only as he is paid. He has been for several years in the pay of the court of England. If the trial of Louis XVI. could bring to light the fact that this dealer in human flesh has been paid from taxes levied on the people of England, it is but justice to the English that they be informed of this fact.

"Louis XVI., considered as an individual, is beneath the notice of the Republic; but as a part of a band of conspirators, as a criminal whose trial may lead all the peoples of the world to a knowledge and detestation of the disastrous system of monarchy, and the plots and intrigues of their own courts, he ought and must be tried.

"If the crimes for which Louis XVI. is arraigned were absolutely personal to him, without reference to general conspiracies, the folly of the moment, inviolability, might be urged in his behalf with some show of reason; but for having conspired with all Europe, we ought to use every means in our power to discover the extent of the conspiracy.

"France is now a Republic! She has completed her revolution! But she is not able to reap all the advantages arising from her changed condition as long as she is environed by despotic governments; their armies and marine oblige her, likewise, to keep troops and ships in readiness. It is, therefore, to her immediate interest that all nations be as free as herself! that revolutions be universal! and since Louis XVI. can serve to prove the necessities of revolutions, France ought not to let slip so precious an opportunity!

"The despots of Europe have formed alliances to preserve their respective authority, and to perpetuate the oppression of nations; to this end they invaded French territory; they dread the effect of the new spirit in their own countries; but their attempt was not successful. France has vanquished their armies; and it is also left to

her to sift to the bottom this conspiracy, and to expose to the world the despots who have had the infamy to take part in it.

"These are my motives for demanding that Louis XVI. be judged; and it is from this sole point of view that his trial appears to me of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the Republic," etc., etc.

Crouzet, supposed to express practically the feeling of the Girondists, said: "It was not in the interest of the French Nation to bring Louis XVI. to trial, and still less to cut off his head on the scaffold; that clemency was the natural virtue of a great nation, and a free people, to secure their independence, ought never to lower themselves to the sanguinary means employed by despots. To take away the life of the late King would be to transmit his pretensions to a child, interesting both by his age and innocence.

"Louis XVI., on his accession to the throne, took the earliest opportunity to abolish feudal bondage; to renounce all advantages usurped by his ancestors, and to call to his council such men as seemed to be the choice of the people. Why, then, must we not believe that, misled by perfidious counsellors, he has been precipitated from abyss to abyss by the notables, whom he voluntarily assembled, and by the corrupted members of the Assembly," etc., etc.

"Louis XVI., some of you say, is a criminal for not having solemnly opposed enterprises carried on in his name; and since it is true that there is no longer a throne, and consequently no punishment of dethronement to be applied, humanity impels us to inflict no other. The French Nation is forever delivered from the scourge of kings. Is it not sufficiently avenged? Can not it be so without blood—and always blood?

"Oh, ye, who may be misled by an excess of enthusiasm,

does not the deliverance of mankind from tyranny expose us to the necessity of shedding enough blood?

"Louis XVI. has been already punished with more severity than the Constitution can inflict. The extremity proposed to this Convention would be only an act of weakness. I will venture to add cowardice! We ought to give to the world, which beholds us, the spectacle of a king returning with his family to the dignity of citizenship—a spectacle much more striking and affecting—a lesson more sublime than that which could be given by all the executioners in the universe. On these considerations I propose the following decree:

"'That the Legislative Assembly be applauded for the courage and zeal it has displayed in suspending the executive power in the hands of Louis XVI. for the abolition of royalty in France, and the establishment of a Republic. That as soon as the Constitution shall be presented to the French people for acceptance, it shall be proposed to them to determine the fate of Louis XVI., his son, daughter, wife, and his sister Elizabeth, and all others of the reigning family actually residing in France; and until that period the National Convention shall cause proper provision to be made for the safety and maintainance of the late King, and of such of his family as are now in the Temple.'"

A number of other motions were made, but the Convention adopted that of Pétion, and decreed, "Louis XVI. shall be judged—he shall be judged by the National Convention."

On the 3rd of December Robespierre, in a two hours' speech, ended with this resolution:

"That Louis Capet be condemned to suffer death; that he be executed on the square before the Tuileries, on which a monument shall be erected to perpetuate an example of national justice. Also, that the wife of Louis Capet be delivered up to the Tribunal of Justice; and that

her son be kept in the Temple until liberty be firmly established in France."

On the 10th, measures were taken to bring the King before the bar of the Convention.

A chosen commission of twenty-one members were to present the Declaratory Act of the crimes with which "Louis Capet" stood charged. On the next day, at eight o'clock, he was to be called before the Convention. All the military of Paris were to be on duty on the 11th "to preserve the tranquillity of the capital."

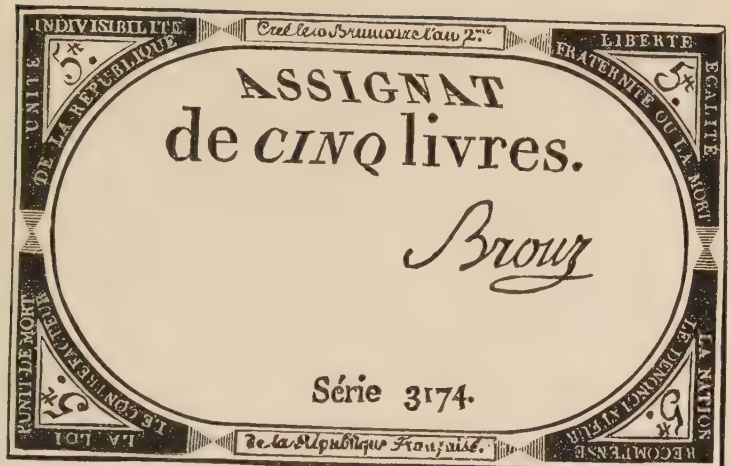
On his way from the Temple to the Convention, his civil escort was to consist of thirty members of the Executive Council, Mayor Chambon, Prosecutor of the Commune, and the Clerks of Record.

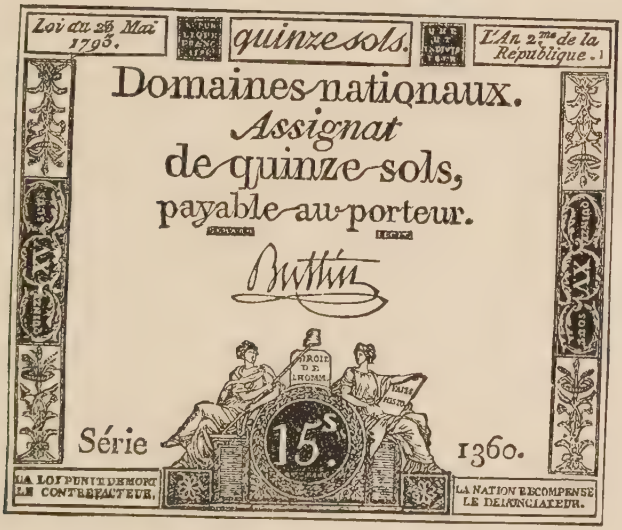
The military, to the number of six hundred men, armed with muskets, with fifteen heavy cartridges each, skillful in their maneuvers, were to march in three ranks in triple file, as escort to the King's carriage. Cannon, cavalry, bands, and fusileers were to be at the prison by six o'clock.

It would appear from the great military preparations made by General Santerre, that he was in fear of either a rescue or the capture of the King by the mob, and his execution without the delays attendant upon the courts of justice. As the procession took its way to the Convention the people preserved the most dignified silence. Upon arriving at the hall, the King was forced to wait three hours before being admitted, Deputy Barbaroux at the time occupying the attention of the members with the presentation of the Declaratory Act.

At half past two o'clock General Santerre informed the Convention that "Louis Capet" awaited its orders.

Receiving a sign of assent from Barère, the King was ushered in by Mayor Chambon, two municipal officers, Generals Santerre and Willenkoff.





PAPER MONEY OF THE REPUBLIC.

Addressing the King, the President said: "Louis, the French Nation accuses you. The National Convention has decreed that you shall be judged by them; that you shall be arraigned by them. We are ready to read to you the Declaratory Act of the crimes laid to your charge. You may sit down." The King sat down.

"Louis, the French Nation accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes."

These crimes the President thereupon began to enumerate. "First, that of interfering with the meeting of the Representatives on the 20th of June, 1789; of wanting to dictate laws to the Nation, and for that object, on the 23rd, of surrounding their representatives with troops, also, at the same time presenting two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and ordering the Representatives to separate; of having sent an army to march against the citizens of Paris, which army was not recalled until the taking of the Bastile; of having long refused to sign the decree abolishing personal servitude, the feudal privileges, and tithes; of doubling the number of his life-guards, and calling the Regiment of Flanders to Versailles, who, by trampling under foot the National cockade, had brought about the death of several persons; of having taken the oath of Federation, on the 14th of July, 1790, which you did not keep, but tried to corrupt the people through the persons of Talon, in Paris, and Mirabeau, in the provinces; of having addressed to the ambassadors of foreign powers a letter, saying you had freely accepted the Articles of the new Constitution, after which you sought to take flight with a false passport; ordered the Ministers to sign none of the acts passed by the National Assembly; and forbid the Minister of Justice to deliver up the seal of State.

"That it had been learned through a note from General Bouillé—in which he gives you an account of the use he had made of 993,000 livres—that this sum was employed in

part to furnish you with an escort at the time of your flight to Varenne; that the blood of the citizens shed at the *Champ de Mars* on the 17th of July, 1791, was through a criminal coalition between you and Lafayette, to which Mirabeau acceded; that the agreement entered into between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Prussia, pledging themselves to restore an absolute monarchy in France was kept a secret from the French until known by all the rest of Europe; that, when the standard of rebellion against the Assembly was hoisted in some of the provinces, you aided them by sending troops; that you paid your life-guards after they had crossed the Rhine, and sent money to Bouillé and other *emigrés;* that your brothers at Coblentz are enemies of the State, having made loans, concluded alliances and rallied the *emigrés* under their banners in your name.

"That when levies of men were ordered to meet the invading armies, the recruiting was stopped before a quarter of the number needed had been secured, etc., etc."

These charges were, in the main, but repetitions of the events which have taken place in France in the last three years. To all of these charges the King gave short explanations or point-blank denials.

The president, then addressing the Convention, said: "These are the charges," and turning to the King—"Louis, is there aught that you wish to add?"

"I request a copy of the charges which I have heard," replied the King, "and the documents or letters relating thereto; also the liberty of choosing counsel for my defense."

The documents and letters were then read to him, to most of which he answered, "I have no knowledge of them."

Whereupon, the President invited the King to withdraw, as the Assembly wished to deliberate.

"I demand counsel," said the King before retiring, but received no answer.

He was reconducted to prison in the same manner he had come. After the King's exit, a violent debate ensued in regard to allowing him counsel. Pêtion arose and said: "I am surprised that so simple a question should excite so much acrimony and division. The King demands counsel! I say no one can refuse him, unless he wishes to ignore all the principles of humanity, and I now move the simple question, 'Can Louis have counsel?'"

Thuriot said, "He only deserved the scaffold," or words to that effect. But after a short debate upon Pétion's resolution, the following decree was passed: "Four members of the Convention shall go to the Temple and ask the King who are the citizens he wishes to entrust with his cause." The committee was sent the next day, and, returning, informed the Convention that Louis had chosen Tronchet, or Target, and both, if the decree had not defined the number.

Target wrote a letter, saying he was sixty years of age, was sick, and did not think himself possessed of a single qualification proper for performing such a task.

Tronchet, also upwards of sixty, an ex-member of the Assembly, replied to the King's request as follows: "A stranger to the court, I did not expect to be called from my solitude to defend its accused King. Were I to consult public opinion, I should send a refusal; but nature tells me that Louis is a man, and every man has a right to defend his life. I therefore shall immediately repair to Paris."

One member proposed that the counsel should be thoroughly searched on entering the King's prison.

Most of the members were shocked at this suggestion, but Robespierre thought it a necessary precaution. It was, however, lost.

Upon Target's refusal to defend the King, Malesherbes, a gentleman seventy years of age, and who had been twice Secretary of State, offered his services, which were accepted by the King.

It was finally decided that the trial should begin on Wednesday, the 26th of December, 1793. This was sooner than these two counsellors could prepare the papers, and M. Deseze was made assistant attorney. At the same sitting it was agreed that the King could see his family; that the King could have pens, ink and paper. It was also decreed that all the Bourbon family, except those detained in the Temple, be banished from France.

A partisan of the Duke of Orleans thereupon arose and asked that Philip Egalité—the name the Duke had taken—be excepted. Unhappily for this traitor to his family, he was allowed for the present to remain.

On the 22d of December, General Santerre sent a note to the Convention asking them "the hour when Louis Capet was to be heard!"

The decree had been passed that at the hour of 10 o'clock on December 26th, Louis be placed before the bar, and Santerre was so informed.

The trial of the King, and the anguish of his afflicted family, is a familiar page of history to every student of French history, and the pity its perusal excites is not to this day a stranger to the most obdurate heart.

The discussion upon the guilt of Louis XVI. was at length closed, and the Convention, on the 14th of January, decreed that the members must ascend singly to the tribune and vote upon the following questions:

"Is Louis guilty or not guilty of high treason, and of attempts against the general safety of the State?

"Shall, or shall not, the appeal to the people take place?

"What punishment shall Louis suffer?"

All members not present, assigning reasons for their

absence, were at liberty to vote on returning to the Convention.

In voting, some explained their vote, as for instance, Comté, in replying to his name said, "As legislator, I declare Louis guilty; as judge, I have nothing to say."

Danton replied in a loud voice: "I pronounce Louis guilty!"

Noel answered feelingly: "I once had a son; he was slain in defense of his country; I do not think a father, who bemoans the loss of his son, can fairly judge him who is the chief author of his wretchedness."

Fauchet replied to his name: "As a citizen, I am convinced of Louis' guilt; as a legislator, I declare him so; as a judge, I have nothing to say."

Chambon: "I do vote for the appeal to the people. They ought to declare if they desire the destruction of royalty."

Lariviere: "I never voted that the Convention should judge Louis, so I shall not vote for his condemnation."

The vote stood on the first question, to wit: "Is Louis guilty of high treason?" Of the 749 members, 683 voted in the affirmative; 8 members were absent on account of illness, 20 upon commissions for the Convention, and 37 assigned various motives for their votes.

Thus was the King found guilty of high treason by a large majority of the Convention.

The next question, "Shall, or shall not, an appeal to the people take place," was voted upon and rejected by a majority of 423.

Now was to come the great struggle! Upon the streets, at the theatres, and in the newspapers, nothing was heard but the possibility of the King's death on the scaffold. On the 16th the voting began as to what punishment should be inflicted upon him.

Thiers describes the scene at the Convention as follows:

"The first vote was cast at half-past seven in the evening, and the voting continued all night. Some voted merely 'death,' others favored detention and banishment on the restoration of peace; while others again voted death, but with the restriction that the inquiry be made whether it was not expedient to stay the execution. This was designed to save the King, as time was everything, and delay meant acquittal. A number of the deputies favored this plan. The voting continued amidst great confusion. Now the interest in the King was at it height; many members had arrived with the intention of voting for an inquiry; but, in the same degree the hatred and vigilance of Louis' enemies increased, and the people had been brought to believe the life of the Republic demanded the death of the King.

"Alarmed at the fury exhibited, many of the members feared personal violence, and, although deeply moved at the fate of Louis, were afraid of the consequences to the country in case of his acquittal. This fear was greatly increased by the scenes passing before them. As each member ascended the steps, the most profound silence was observed in the galleries and on the floor, that the intent of his vote be heard. If favorable to the King, murmurs of disapprobation followed the deputy to his seat; if unfavorable, great applause greeted him."

This ominous scene had its effect upon many members, and caused them to change their minds, so that, when the vote was announced, at seven o'clock the following evening, it stood, for the King's death, 366; against, 361; eighteen members through various reasons failing to vote.

This vote of five majority for death has never been deemed an impartial expression of the Convention that tried Louis XVI.

The next step was for the King's counselors to endeavor to obtain a respite. On the 19th this resolution was dis-

cussed by the members. The fact that only *five* votes stood between the King and the guillotine caused his sympathizers to put forth renewed efforts.

Louvet said: "That for the honor of the people of France, and for the honor of the Convention itself, the question ought to be treated with all possible maturity and according to its magnitude."

Buzot: "I shall perhaps be murdered, but posterity shall judge me; I will therefore vote for Louis' respite."

Thomas Paine: "I voted for the detention of Louis, and his banishment when peace should be secured. I am afraid that the speedy execution of sentence upon Louis will rather pass for a deed of vengeance than a measure of justice. I wish the Convention had voted as the Nation would—I mean for imprisonment. The people of the United States of America have the utmost veneration for Louis, who secured to them their independence. And I can pledge myself to you, that the sentence will overwhelm all Americans with consternation. And, remember, that it is they who will alone supply you with all the timber and naval stores you shall want in the maritime war you are about to engage in. The North of Europe is ready to bring its forces against you. You mean to send an ambassador to Philadelphia; my sincere wish is that this ambassador may announce to the Americans, that the National Convention of France, from pure friendship to America, has consented to respite the sentence of Louis.

"Citizens! let not a neighboring despot enjoy the satisfaction of seeing *the man mount the scaffold who has broken the chains of the Americans.*"

Barrère in a violent speech, urged "that the sentence take place immediately."

Couthon moved "That the sentence be executed at the *Place du Carousal,* and a report of the execution made in

twenty-four hours!" whereupon the galleries burst into loud applause.

Marat spoke at great length to prove "that France was impatient to hear the news of the death of Louis XVI., and as the members had taken a nap during the night, they could well afford to pass the present night in finishing up the business."

The vote being taken on the question of the King's respite, resulted in a majority of 193 against him, 79 members not voting.

The result was communicated to the Convention by President Vergniaud, whereupon De Bry rose, and in the course of a speech, said: "Citizens, we have burnt our ships. Let us perish, if we must perish; but let us save the country!" at which, many members rose and repeated together his words.

On the 21st of January, 1793, the King was executed. Seventy thousand troops were on duty to preserve order. The details are too shocking to be dwelt upon even at this late day. M. Leduc endeavored to obtain the King's body from the Convention, to bury it by the side of his father at the Cathedral of Sens, but his request was not granted. It was decreed that Louis XVI. be buried, as any other common citizen, in the church-yard of St. Magdalen. A grave twelve feet in depth was immediately dug, and in the dusk of evening, and without ceremony, the body was thrown in. It was covered with quick lime and left to be consumed, near the remains of the Swiss soldiers slain at the Tuileries, on the 10th of August, 1792.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FRENCH "UNITY."

The justice of the King's execution can not be questioned. He had been found guilty of high treason by the highest authority in the land, and the penalty for this crime was *death*. But the question arises, was his execution necessary—was it sound policy? It was neither the one nor the other; nor was it dictated by either of these reasons. The sole question of the King's trial was raised and pressed by the "Mountain," for the double purpose of forwarding their political supremacy, and to compel the Girondists to expose to the public their real sentiments; in other words, that the Girondist faction might furnish the material for its own destruction. For a few days after the horrible event, general unanimity of feeling appeared to prevail. The object of their contention lay in his grave, and for many reasons all factions and parties now seemed to desire peace.

An address, signed by all the members of the Convention, in which "this solemn act of justice was declared to have been the act of all, and for which they were unitedly responsible," was sent to all the Departments of the Republic.

A few days later, a levy of three hundred thousand men, to be uniformed and equipped by their respective municipalities, and an issue of nine hundred millions new assignates were unanimously decreed. On the first of February the Convention, incensed at the notice to the French ambassador to leave London within twenty-four hours, voted for war against England. It finally adopted a

decree conferring dictatorial powers upon special committees, and upon commissaries or envoys of the Convention.

On the 15th, the Committee on the Constitution, submitted its report to the Convention. In the midst of formidable royalistic uprisings in the Vendée and other parts of France, and the formation of a powerful coalition between England, the German Empire, Holland, Spain, and Naples, against the country, the debate on this report was begun.

"The Convention," says Michelet, in speaking of this period of the Revolution, "had a greater task to perform than that of defending the territorial integrity of the country. Her Kings had many times defended it. But the special and infinitely difficult mission of the Convention was that of establishing the *Unity of France*; the indivisibility of the Republic! This was the watch word of 1793.

"France, emerging from a barbarian age, could no longer content herself with a false unity, which for so many years has been but a cover for disunion. Nor could she accept the *feeble federative unity of the United States* and Switzerland, which is nothing more than a *consenting discord.* To return to the one or the other of these *imperfect forms* was either to perish or fall to the level of *those inferior creatures who have no need of unity.*

"From the day France first discerned the exalted idea of true unity, she was exhilarated in spirit. Whoever dared, in word or thought, to recall either of these *forms of discord — royalism* or *federalism* — seemed to the people a profaner; an enemy to humanity; a distroyer of his country!

"This little word 'federal,' taken up by the Royalists and used against their opponents, was in turn used by the Jacobins to guillotine the Girondist party. 'Look well at this word federal,' said both Royalists and Jacobins,

PAPER MONEY OF THE REPUBLIC.

'Is it not evident that Brissot contemplates the *debasement* of France to a federation similar to that of the *United States of America?*'"

M. Michelet's idea of *unity* must not be confounded with the idea of *union*. Unity, as used by him, would be better expressed by concentration. To concentrate is to bring to a common center; to amalgamate the parts into one body, destroying the activity of the parts. To unite is to combine; to join for a common purpose, preserving the integrity of the parts, and strengthening them by a union of affection and interests. Union implies freedom of action through a voluntary agreement to unite for mutual benefit and protection. Concentration implies force; compulsion by a central power. Union fosters and maintains liberty; concentration invariably destroys it.

At the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastile the enthusiastic manifestations of the Bretons, the Normans, Burgundians—in short, the people of all the provences in favor of free institutions—were as sincere as they were strong, and, with the exception of the handful of nobles and priests, the people of France may be said to have been unanimous in sympathy with the Revolution, and were Frenchmen to the core; that is to say, they were one in the sentiment of love and devotion to a regenerated country. No pressure from above, or from a powerful center was necessary; there was an invisible and indivisible union of hearts, infinitely more united in the sentiment of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and true patriotism than were the people of the American Colonies in 1776.

Suppose the people of the different provinces had elected their representatives to a National Assembly at Paris, or elsewhere; perfected a Constitution for the "United Provinces of France," leaving to each province its local independence, and had submitted this Federal

Constitution to the provinces for ratification, is it supposable that a single one of these provinces would have hesitated an instant in giving its hearty adhesion? Not one.

But rather let us suppose, for an instant, that this French people, who, seven centuries before were found competent to manage their own communal affairs, had, in 1790, suddenly been invested with all the rights of political sovereignty—with personal liberty limited only by the liberties of others—given all the advantages and having the incentives for individual development unimpaired and their life and property protected by municipal and provincial authorities of their own free choice! Can it fairly be maintained that a voluntary union of these locally free and independent Normans, Burgundians, Gascoins, Lyonnais, etc., etc., but enthusiastic Frenchmen in all matters of common, national concern—especially in that of common defense—would have proven a "rope of sand" or "a conventional discord," as M. Michelet would have it?

Nothing of the kind. The men who aided the Americans in securing their independence, who, at Valmy, with the cry, "*Vive la Patrie!*" repulsed the Prussian invaders, and who, subsequently, toppled over the thrones of Europe and shattered their armies with the force of a tornado, possessed also the material of which good citizens are made. Instruction was all they needed—"political education," that education which made Greece and Rome great in antiquity, and England and the United States in modern times, is only attainable by the participation of the many in the public affairs of their country.

Imbued with that local pride inherent in the German and French character, each province vying with its adjoining province in patriotic devotion to a common country, all the men and means for its successful defense would have been generously and zealously furnished the

central or general government. This newly endowed people would have defended with their lives the inviolability of their representatives, and the independence and integrity of the National Assembly. The influence of these sober, earnest provincials could not have served otherwise than as a check upon the murderous bands of anarchists marching to the Capital to support the pretentions of Editor Marat, Danton, Robespierre and other leaders of the radical clubs.

It may be urged that, since the federal system was not adopted in 1790, it was too late to make the change in 1792. Perhaps it was. However, as was said before, had the Convention taken a firm stand, and effectively suppressed that centralizing power, the Commune of Paris, it would have gained the confidence of the country and enabled the Girondists, had they been so disposed, to create a reactionary sentiment in favor of the federal system.

As far as can be ascertained, it would seem that Deputy Buzot was the only one who possessed the courage of his convictions. During the debates upon the new Constitution, after expressing his admiration for the Federal system of the United States, he said:

"A fatal and seemingly irremediable error in the French mind is the idea of a division of political power. I will here say that the idea of a federative government for France similar to that of the United States is my own. It is possible that Brissot and my other friends had the same idea concerning a republican form of government best suited for France, but," apologizingly continues Buzot, "it never entered their minds to propose a thing of the kind. They feared all might be risked by proposing it. *My friends saw, as well as I did, the viciousness of the plan we did finally adopt; however, prudence forbade its being antagonized at that time.*" Mark the language.

There is no doubt in the mind of the writer that, had

the Girondists crushed the head of anarchism and emancipated themselves from the terrors of its revenge, the question of "political decentralization" would at once have commanded their careful consideration. Fifty years after Buzot and the Girondists, Alexis de Tocqueville, in writing upon the American system, says:

"I am firmly convinced that provinical institutions are useful to all nations, but nowhere do they appear to me so necessary as among a democratic people. In an aristocrary, order can always be maintained in the midst of liberty; but a democracy, without provincial institutions, has no security against despotism. What resistance can be offered to tyranny in a country where each individual is weak, and where the citizens are not united by any common interest? Those who demand the license of the mob, and those who fear absolute power, ought alike to desire the *gradual development of provincial liberties.*" And elsewhere, exactly applicable to the condition prevailing in France at this time, he says:

"I am also convinced that democratic nations are most likely to fall beneath the yoke of centralized administration, for several reasons, one of which is the following:

"The constant tendency of all nations is to concentrate all the strength of the government in the hands of the only power which directly represents the people, because, beyond the people, nothing is to be perceived but a mass of equal individuals. But, when the same power already has all the attributes of government, it can scarcely refrain from penetrating into the details of the administration, and an opportunity of doing so is sure to present itself in the long run, as was the case in France. In the French Revolution, there were two impulses in opposite directions, which must never be confounded; *the one was favorable to despotism, the other to liberty.*" Or—the one was favorable to Jacobinism, the other to Democracy.

"When a compact nation," continues De Tocqueville, "divides its sovereignty, and adopts a confederate form of government, the tradition, customs, and the manners of the people for a long time struggle against the laws, and give an influence to the central government which the local laws forbid. *I have no doubt that if France were to become a Confederate Republic like that of the United States the government would be at first more energetic than that of the American Union"!*

"The Revolution declared itself the enemy, at once, of royalty and of provinical institutions; it confounded in indiscriminate hatred all that had preceded it—*despotic power and the checks to its abuses;* its tendency was at once to republicanize and to centralize. This double character of the French Revolution is a fact which has been adroitly handled by the friends of absolute power. In this manner, apparent popularity may be united with hostility to the rights of the people, and *the secret slave of tyranny may be the professed lover of freedom.*

"The only nations which deny the utility of provincial liberties are those which have the fewest of them; in other words, those only censure the institution of a local self-government who do not know or understand it."

CHAPTER XXIX.

OVERTHROW OF THE GIRONDISTS.

The account of the heroic but unsuccessful struggle of the Girondists, the most cultured, intelligent and patriotic members of the National Convention against the anarchistic tendencies of the Paris Commune and the Mountain, forms the most interesting episode in the history of the French Revolution.

It is true, the year 1793 is replete with the records of patriotic devotion on the field of battle, but the battle of ideas fought upon the floor of the French National Convention should have, for the American reader, paramount interest at the present time.

The principal incident which brought on a violent state of feeling between the members was the decree instructing the Minister of Justice to institute criminal proceedings against the authors, accomplices and instigators of the murders and robberies committed between the 2d and 6th of September. As before stated, one of the officials, having privately informed a member that sufficient evidence was in the hands of the department of justice to convict a number of the representatives, Danton among them, as well as a majority of the members of the Paris Commune, the machinery of the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs was at once set in motion, with the view of compelling the Convention to abrogate the threatening decree.

As the result, on the 8th of February a Jacobin deputation appeared before the Convention with a demand to this effect. It was strongly supported by the Mountain, and all opponents to its repeal were menaced with personal

violence. These threats having resulted in the intimidation of a majority of the cowardly bourgeois center, the Convention suspended the operation of the decree.

"This trial of strength," says Maillan, "furnished the Jacobins with the thermometer of the Convention." Henceforth they were able to extort, with the means in their power, any decree which to them seemed necessary.

Again the question of subsistence for the capital was pressing itself upon the attention of the Convention. It was not to be concealed, that not only Paris but all France was suffering from insufficiency of provisions, and, consequently, it was an easy matter for conspirators and designing demagogues to incite a riot, especially in Paris, where the idle and vicious had hurried in swarms—blatant, busy, savage and hungry. Paris hungry was Marat's opportunity. His newspaper, the "Friend of the People," fed and flourished upon the privations and irritation of the unemployed.

On the 25th an address appeared in this newspaper inciting the people against the "monopolists," the forestallers of grain, and the merchants of luxurious articles. On the evening of the appearance of this address the stores of several provision dealers were plundered and the owners maltreated. The following day, the matter having been brought before the Convention, a decree was adopted directing the prosecution of the instigators of these outrages. The next day Marat's paper returned to the attack, accusing some of the representatives who had asked for his indictment as being themselves the instigators. Every indication now pointed to the approach of a violent crisis. Profiting by the dissensions in the Convention and the disorder in Paris, the counter-revolutionists and their foreign emissaries began operations upon the people in the country. A riot had already occurred in Montauban and Lyons had raised the counter-revolutionary

flag. Repressive measures were immediately taken by the Convention, but, being considered insufficient by the Commune of Paris—an organization which had no business to meddle in national affairs—formed a "Committee on Insurrections." On the 5th of March the news reached Paris that the army of the Moselle had been defeated, and the motion was made by a member of the Mountain to send all the available volunteers about Paris to the front.

This proposition included the few battalions of Departmental Guards, the only reliable protectors against the ever-ready, riotous mob of the Paris Commune. Barbaroux, who desired to speak on the motion, was hooted down; but Isnard, the tumultuous uproar notwitstanding, succeeded in making himself heard:

"I ask myself every day," he said, "whether we are the National Convention or a machine to pass decrees formulated by a faction. I ask myself, is Paris the only city, or only one of the cities of the Republic? It is time to halt; one thing must be decided; the Convention must hold the reins of the Empire; they must not be in the hands of this or that individual. We are accountable to France and to the whole world for our conduct. We must remain free and uninfluenced or we must give up our commissions. The liberty of a people is always suspended between two rocks: the rock of despotism on the one side and anarchy on the other. We have overcome despotism, but are in imminent danger of being crushed by anarchy."

Although these sentiments were applauded, and every member felt their force, the decree ordering the maritime troops, then stationed at Paris, to return to the defense of the coast, was passed, thus depriving the city itself of all armed protection.

Danton and the other commissioners sent to inspect affairs in the North returned to Paris and submitted a

very discouraging report of the condition of the army in Belgium. Thereupon another committee was appointed to call upon all the Sections of Paris and request them to issue an appeal to all citizens "To take up arms and hasten to the relief of their countrymen in the North." These appeals were responded to with enthusiasm, but as in the call to fly to the rescue of Verdun previous to the September massacres, these volunteers would not consent to risk their lives for the maintainance of the Republic unless the *untrustworthy Representatives* (the Girondists) *were rendered harmless.*

The Jacobins were preparing for more blood-letting. On the 9th of March every Representative of the Mountain was in his place, and the galleries were packed by the members of the Radical clubs. Chaumette, the attorney for the Commune, arose and presented an address asking for the formation of a "Revolutionary Tribunal without Appeal." A tax upon the rich was also demanded. After a prolonged debate, the formation of this terrible tribunal was decreed. Its formation, however, being delayed, the threatening scenes of the previous day were repeated. This hastened matters, and on the 10th the committee submitted their report.

It provided for a Tribunal of nine members, to be elected by the Convention, controlled by no instructions whatever, one member at least to be always on duty to hear denunciations; the Tribunal was to pass judgment upon every person referred to it by a decree of the Convention. This Tribunal was empowered to prosecute those who had abandoned or neglected to perform their civil functions; those who, by their conduct, or by expressing their opinions, had attempted to mislead the people; those whose writings or speeches would serve to encourage the resumption of those prerogatives once enjoyed by despots.

This report conferring such extraordinary inquisitorial

powers upon a single Tribunal was fiercely attacked by Vergniaud. "Rather than consent to the adoption of a decree, establishing an inquisition more dreadful than that of Venice, we must perish said he."

The decree was passed, nevertheless, but in a slightly modified form. It was to be composed of five judges, a jury, one public prosecutor and two assistants—all to be appointed by the Convention. The organization of the Tribunal falling thus into the hands of their enemies, exasperated the Jacobins, and on the following day a resolution was adopted by the Cordeliers Club and by one of the Sections and subsequently submitted to the Paris Commune, to the effect, that *henceforth the Department of Paris should exercise the sovereignty of France.* Violent demonstrations were made against the Convention, but Santerre, the Commandant of the National Guard, having refused to take part in the insurrection, the project of attacking the Convention was abandoned, or rather postponed.

In the midst of these anarchistic plottings against the integrity of the National Convention, in which the watchful Vergniaud discovered the subtile hands of the Royalists, the reverses in the field came to aggravate the situation. Dumouriez, having been ordered to leave Holland, which he had hoped to gain for the French cause, to take charge of the army of the Meuse, he returned to Paris incensed against the Jacobins, whom he charged with the ill-success of the army in Belgium, "where their agents," he said, "had excercised the most despotic and vexatious authority; they had everywhere excited the populace and frequently employed violence in the meetings, where union with France was discussed; they had seized the plate of the churches, sequestered the rooms of the clergy, confiscated the estates of the nobility and created the strongest indignation among all classes of the Belgian people." He not only thus freely criticised the

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Jacobin leaders, but had some of the Commissioners of the Government arrested. On the 12th of March he addressed a letter to the Convention, similar in tone to that sent by Lafayette the year before, in which, recurring to the disorganization of the armies produced by the Jacobins, and the vexations practiced upon the Belgians, he imputed "all these evils to the disorganizing spirit communicated by Paris to the rest of France, and by France to the countries liberated by French arms." "This letter," says Thiers, "full of boldness, and still more of remonstrances—not within the province of a General to make—reached the Committee of General Safety at the moment when so many accusations were being preferred against Dumouriez. On the 18th or 19th, after a desperate engagement, the French army was defeated at Neerwinden, with a loss of 4,000 killed and of more than 10,000 more by desertion; and on the 23d Dumouriez ordered Brussels to be evacuated. Vexed and discouraged, this brave General now sullied his reputation, and forever branded his name with treason by making the Austrian General, Mack, with whom he held a conference about an armistice, the confidante of his grievances against the National Convention."

Dumouriez's defection having reached the Convention, four Commissioners were dispatched to suspend him from his functions and place him under arrest; he not only refused to obey, but placed the Commissioners under guard. This desperate step not only compelled him to seek safety in flight a few days afterwards, but involved the Girondists—who were charged with entertaining friendly feelings toward the General—in a renewed conflict with the Jacobins. The crisis in the Convention was precipitated by the imprudent charge of Lasource that Danton was in secret communication with Dumouriez.

Like a wounded lion, Danton jumped to his feet and, with grinding teeth and menacing gestures, exclaimed:

"There shall never more be peace between you and the Mountain! between the patriots who demanded the death of a tyrant and the cowards who endeavored to save him!" Thereupon he moved, "That the commission appointed to inquire into the Dumouriez conspiracy be ordered to extend its scope and include those who had conspired against *the Unity of the Republic of France;* those who, to save the King, would have bartered away their liberties; and, finally," said he, "I have intrenched myself in the citadel of truth. I go forth to proclaim it, and I will annihilate the rascals who have dared to accuse me."

The Committee of Public Safety, as then constituted, was considered too conservative for Danton's purposes, and a new one composed of his adherents was appointed. On the 6th of April this committee was endowed with the most summary powers of administration and execution. Its deliberations were to be secret; they were authorized to take such measures for the general defense of the interior, as well as against foreign attack, as they deemed expedient. The orders of the committee, if signed by two-thirds of its members, *were to be executed without delay.* Thus was this terrible tribunal Committee, which lived as long as the Convention itself.

Now that the instigators of murder had become the judges of their enemies, it was Editor Marat's duty to point out the culprits to be driven to the slaughter-pen. *L'Ami du Peuple* having declared, "that since Dumouriez intended to march upon Paris for the object of protecting the 'sound party' (as the Girondists were termed), the members of this party were no longer worthy of the confidence of the people." Accordingly, a deputation from the Jacobin Club appeared at the bar of the house and demanded, "that the deputies, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gen-

sonné, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and Buzot, be placed in accusation."

This was the first open attack upon the Girondists; it was, however, the beginning of the end. Anarchy, organized self-will, suspicion, and a brutal disbelief in the good intentions of mankind, outside of a radical coterie of self-constituted disciples, was now enthroned in unhappy France.

Two days after, an address was received by the Mountain from a section of which Marat was the President, denouncing the majority of the Convention as traitors. This address, evidently drafted by Marat, was circulated among the members of the Commune, the clubs and sections.

"Save the Republic," was the burden of its lines; "and if you—the Mountain—do not feel strong enough, frankly say so, and we—Marat's Section—will charge ourselves with the duty. The crisis through which we are now passing must be the last. The Republic must triumph or France must perish!"

No language could more fully express the "rule or ruin" principle of the modern anarchists. To honestly attempt to form, discuss, and improve the government through united action with the center or right, was not the plan of the French anarchists. Marat's conception of a republican form of Government must be adopted, or France must be laid waste. *L'Etat c'est moi* would only satisfy him. His language seems to have been well understood by Deputy Pétion, who, having denounced the address, turned to the Mountain, and asked: "How is the section going to save the Republic? Is it by robbery and assassination?"

"This is the talk of Dumouriez!" shouted some one from the Mountain, to which Danton added: "There are laws and tribunals, and let those who believe the authors of the address can be prosecuted come forward and pros-

ecute!" This challenge was well understood by the Girondists. The days' work had evidently been well matured, for Robespierre, who never spoke at length without careful preparation, followed Danton in a two hours' speech. It was wholly directed against the Girondist party, full of inuendos, falsehoods and misrepresentation. "A powerful faction," he said, "is conspiring with Europe to give us a King with an aristocratic Constitution, and an illusory representation composed of two chambers. It expects to gain this object through foreign intervention." In carefully constructed sentences the Jacobin orator then proceeded to unravel an imaginary plan of operations, insidiously connecting the speeches and correspondence of members of the Girondist party with General Dumouriez's defection, and finished by denouncing Brissot, Guadet, and Vergniaud as the principal leaders of the plot. The galleries having been packed for the occasion, this speech was repeatedly interrupted by applause. The grand opportunity to strike a fatal blow at his enemies seemed now at hand, and Robespierre moved that the Revolutionary Tribunal be instructed to proceed against Dumouriez and his accomplices, "the statesmen"—another of the names by which Marat satirically designated the Girondists. The party was now placed upon the defensive, and a reply to the arch-detractor was expected by the Convention. Vergniaud was first to rise from his seat, but when he began to speak his voice was drowned by the deafening yells of the Mountain. The President, by repeated use of his gavel, finally succeeded in restoring order, when Vergniaud continued: "I shall not presume to answer in detail the perfidious network of calumnies which M. Robespierre has drawn up in the silence of his study. He would not speak of his services to France; of the use he had made of his voice to assist in hurling tryanny from the throne, and which

now should be used with equal emphasis to strike terror into the hearts of those who were endeavoring to substitute their own tyranny for that of royalty." After vehemently repelling every accusation of Robespierre, the speaker demanded that the section which had presented the address be summoned and ordered to produce its minutes.

Guadet now took the floor, but his voice could not be heard above the din of yells and hisses which greeted him from the Mountain. Undaunted, he stood his ground until the noise had in a measure subsided, when, without deigning to deny the charge of conspiracy with Dumouriez and "Egalité" Duke of Orleans, he asked: "Who was the companion of Dumouriez at the Jacobin Club, at the theatre and other places? Your Danton."

He then minutely detailed the incendiary ways of the Mountain, and finally read a circular, signed by Marat, and sent to the Jacobin Clubs all over France, calling them "to arms, and to march upon Paris where they must conquer or be buried under the ashes of the Republic."

"Yes," cried Marat from his loft, "yes! let them march!"

For this piece of brazen effrontery the Convention demanded his immediate arrest. He was taken into custody and the act of accusation prepared against him. Robespierre hurried off to the Jacobin Club to praise Danton and vindicate Marat. The Commune and the forty-eight sections were stirred up to the point of another insurrection.

On the following day the galleries were filled with Jacobins to hear the reading of the Act of Accusation against Marat. It was received with storms of indignation; nevertheless the Convention decreed his temporary imprisonment. Using Marat's detention as a pretext, on the 15th of April delegates from thirty-six sections, headed by

Mayor Pache, presented themselves at the bar of the Convention and demanded "Vengence! vengence for these outrages committed against the sacred rights of the people! The people have cast from the throne a traitor, and why should they allow the traitors of the Convention to go unpunished? An address to all the Departments containing a list of all representatives guilty of treason is demanded! and if approved by the Departments, these representatives must retire from the Convention! They are Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Lalle, Biro'eau, Pontecoulant, Pétion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Fauchet, Hardy, Louvet, Lehardy, Gorsas, Lauthenas, Lasource, Valady and Chambon."

The effect produced upon the Convention by the reading of these names may be fairly imagined by supposing a similar delegation of politicians from the wards of the city of New York to have appeared at the doors of the first Continental Congress and demanded the expulsion of Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, James Madison and John Adams.

The cheering of the Jacobins and the Mountain having subsided, Representative Boyer-Fonfrede hastened to the platform, and in an eloquent manner expressed his disappointment that his name had been omitted from this list of illustrious names. "So are we! So are we!" shouted a hundred voices from the right and center of the house. Continuing, he examined the legality of an address emanating from the people of one Department. "Suppose each Department arrogate to itself the same right. The Department of Paris has used a legitimate prerogative, or it proposes to attack the National Convention. If the latter proves to be its purpose, a striking example of severity should be meted out to it." This view of the question being adopted by a majority of the Convention, on the 18th the address was declared calumnious.

As will be seen, the Conservatives still had control of the Convention, and, in any other part of France than in Paris, must have succeeded in piloting the country to a safe harbor.

On the 24th of April Marat was brought to trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which Tribunal, being composed of his constituents, cleared him in three minutes. Immediately surrounded by a mob of gesticulating women, *Sans Culottes* carrying pikes, and detachments of armed sections, Marat was taken in charge by his friends and conducted to the doors of the Convention. Two city officials led the procession. Marat, borne aloft upon the shoulders of a sapper, his brow wreathed with a crown of laurel, was carried in triumph to the middle of the hall. Standing by his side, the sapper thus addressed the President: "Citizen President, we return to you the worthy Marat! Marat, the steadfast friend of the people! the people will always be the friend of Marat, and, if his head must fall, the head of the sapper must fall first." As the man uttered these words, he brandished his ax in the air, and the galleries applauded with all the might and voice at their command. The Mountain received Marat with rounds of applause, which had the effect of restoring him to his usual state of assurance. Mounting the platform with indecent haste, he addressed the Convention as follows:

"Citizens! indignant at seeing a villainous faction betraying the Republic, I endeavored to unmask it, and to put the rope about its neck. It resisted me by launching against me a decree of Accusation. I have come off victorious! The faction is humbled, but not crushed. Waste not your time in decreeing triumphs. Defend yourselves with all your power!"

While descending the platform, the mob in the Galleries and the Mountain rent the air with "Vive Marat!"

"Vive *L' Ami du Peuple!*" "Vive la Montagne!" At the close of the session the victorious statesman retired to the Jacobin club, where he received another ovation. These violent scenes at Paris, and the constant danger to which the Representatives were exposed, filled the people of the provinces with excusable anxiety. Their treatment, however, was not the only grievance the provincials complained of against the Paris agitators. They saw their ambition was to rule France as Rome had ruled her provinces. This sentiment was strongest in the departments represented by the Girondists, and protest after protest soon began to pour in upon its members. These, however, were but expressions of individual sympathy; no organized resistance against this threatened anarchistic supremacy supported these remonstrances. On the other hand, the situation among the enthusiastic revolutionists—the reckless and abandoned, who by great political commotions have everything to gain and nothing to lose—wore quite a different aspect. In hilarious throngs they proceeded to enrole themselves under the Jacobin banner.

Every city, town and village added largely to their membership. Being of the most aggressive class, ready to resort to personal violence if necessary, they managed at elections to accomplish their ends. The peaceful citizen, averse to giving countenance to dishonest dealings, and giving way to the political huxter, had left the field to such, and, as a consequence, the municipal, town and village authorities at this time were mostly of the radical stripe—the National Convention having been compelled by force of circumstances to clothe these municipalities with extraordinary functions. These corporations were used to terrorize timid citizens, and to prevent public demonstrations unfavorable to Jacobin rule.

Thus, it came to pass, that the provincial governments were guided by the Jacobin Club at Paris through its

country auxiliaries. The party of the Mountain now resolved to push legislation far beyond the wishes of these orderly, industrious and conservative people—republican in sentiment, but unorganized.

The latest indignity offered to their representatives by the thirty-six sections of the Paris Department had aroused a feeling of resentment throughout this heretofore sluggish mass. Collisions, riots, and open revolt followed. At Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles the feeling was unanimous against further anarchistic supremacy at the capital. In the meantime the insurrection in the Vendee had assumed gigantic proportions. It extended all along the coast from the Gironde to the mouth of the Seine. In Normandy, the Bretagne, the Poiton, the Anjou, and the Vendee the peasants were all in arms against the Republic. They had accepted the revolution which gave them the Constitution of 1791, but the excesses of the last two years had disgusted them with the Republic itself, and they pined for a return to the old regimé.

As before stated, in the Western part of France a more friendly feeling had existed between the nobles and the peasants. The social gulf separating them had not been so wide. The priests were, also, upon better terms with their parishioners. Among these, violent changes produced violent sentiments. The Mountain and the Jacobins endeavored to associate this discontent in the Vendee with the Girondist conspiracy. They charged the anti-Jacobin demonstrations at Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles and other places to their instigation—all uniting in a grand conspiracy against the Republic. In consequence, from the 15th to the 18th of May, Paris was thrown into a great state of excitement by thousands of remonstrances pouring in from the country. The inhabitants of Bordeaux, in reply to the charge that they formed part of the Vendecan conspiracy, declared, in their address to the

Convention, that they would raise two armies, one to march against the Vendee, the other to march against Paris to exterminate the anarchists who had dared to offer violence to the National representation. This address seemed to rekindle the courage of the Convention. On the 19th, Deputy Guadet introduced a resolution to the effect that the President be clothed with greater authority; in fact, sufficient authority to declare whoever dared to interrupt the deliberations of the Convention with threats should be declared disloyal and counter-revolutionary.

In support of this resolution, he said: "In England, when a majority endeavored to oppose the fury of a factious minority, that minority cried, '*Oppression,*' and succeeded by means of this cry in finally oppressing the majority itself. It called around it *patriots par excellence,* such was the title assumed by a misled multitude in England to which this minority promised pillage and a division of the lands. This continued appeal of these patriots against the tyranny of the majority led to the proceeding known as the 'Purgation of Parliament'—a proceeding in which the butcher, Pride, was the chief actor. One hundred and fifty members were expelled from Parliament, and the minority, consisting of fifty or sixty members, was left in possession of the government. What was the result? These *Patriots par excellence,* tools of Cromwell, whom he led to the commission of folly after folly, were in turn expelled, their own crimes serving their leader and the usuper as a good pretext to be rid of them." Turning to Legender, a butcher, Danton and La Croix, Guadet continued: "Cromwell one day addressed these *Patriots par excellence,* who declared they alone were capable of saving the country, telling them 'to begone!' Saying to one, 'Thou art a robber;' to another, 'thou art a drunkard;' to this one, 'thou hast fattened upon public money;' to that one, 'thou art a whore-master and a

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frequenter of places of bad repute. Begone! all of you, and give place to Godly men.' And they did give place." The parallel was applicable, and the Convention saw it. The resolution was adopted, but hardly had the vote been counted when Marat, profiting by the uproar in the galleries, appeared in the tribune, and demanded to know the names of the promoters of these royalistic decrees, declaring that he would never be satisfied until France was delivered from these conspirators against the life of the Republic. In passing up the aisles to his seat, he pointed to this and that member, calling out: "Thou art one of them, and the people will soon see that justice is done to thee."

Guadet, promptly returning to the encounter, said: "The evil is with the anarchistic authorites of Paris. I therefore propose their deposition, to be replaced by the Presidents of the forty-eight sections. I further move, that another Assembly be elected which shall meet at Bourges, when this Convention shall adjourn." Both resolutions were upon the point of being adopted, when Barrère came forward with a substitute authorizing the appointment of a committee of twelve members to examine into the acts of the Commune of Paris during the last month; its plots against the National Convention, etc. The out-cry of the oppression of the majority (the Girondists) was now raised by the Jacobins and a repetition of the September massacres was proposed to clear the Convention of traitors. On the 24th, the committee informed the Convention they were ready to report, being in possession of sufficient information to ensure the apprehension of some of the conspirators. On the strength of the report several Jacobins were arrested, among them Hébert, the editor of a foul sheet called *Le Père Duchesne*, which had advocated the seizure and assassination of a large number of representatives.

Hébert being a member of the self-constituted Commune, this body resolved to make his case the common cause. Accordingly, on the 25th, a petition for the release of Hébert, and a justice of the peace, also arrested, was presented to the Convention. The petition was refused. This exasperated the Commune, which in less than two days succeeded in securing the support of twenty-seven sections, a majority in the city, for Hébert's release. On the evening of the 27th, an armed mob of several thousand appeared at the door of the Convention. It was ten o'clock and motions to adjourn were immediately made. During the excitement the President, Isnard, left the chair, when it was instantly occupied by Hèrault-Sechelles, a radical of of the most violent type.

The mob now crowded into the hall, and a decree was forced through, by which the prisoners were released, and the commission of twelve dissolved. The day following a large number of members demanded the repeal of the decrees which had been extorted from the Convention under threats of personal violence. In support of the motion to repeal, Guadet said: "The hall blockaded by the people, the guards of the Assembly dispersed, the members terrorized by threats of violence in the galleries, the deputies prevented from leaving or entering—all this is sufficient proof that the Convention was overawed, and this vote was the result of the most sinister influence." The decree was repealed as far as the dissolution of the commission of twelve was concerned. "You have performed an act of justice in liberating the prisoners," said Danton, "but if the commission which you have reinstated retains its tyrannical powers, I declare to you, after proving that we surpass our enemies in prudence and discretion, we will prove that we can surpass them in *daring and revolutionary energy.*"

On the 29th the news of the defeat of the Army of the

North, in the Vendee, and on the Spanish frontier, threw the population of the capital into a fresh state of excitement, and on the 30th the Central Committee of the sections declared itself in permanence, and resolved to resort to insurrection for the purpose of saving the cause of the people, which was threatened by aristocratic factions." Mayor Pache was ordered to inform the Commune of this decision, and, in order to render the resolution immediately effective, it was further resolved "that they proceed to the Convention and demand for the last time the dissolution of the commission of twelve, and the arrest of all of its members; that in case of refusal to comply, the tocsin should be sounded, the alarm gun fired, the *generale* beaten, and the barriers closed."

This ultimatum was presented to the Convention, which, not having a quorum, was unable to consider it. The preliminaries for a popular uprising having been perfected, however, the Central Committee declared Paris in a state of insurrection. It gave notice to the Paris Commune that all existing authorities had been dissolved by the *people,* but, at the same time, had invested the Council-General of the Commune with unlimited powers. This purely anarchistic *coup d'etat* was befittingly crowned by the appointment of the disreputable Hènriot to the chief command of the National Guards.

"*Le General Hènriot,*" says Michelet, "lackey, and police-spy under the old regimé, had passed through many a campaign—at the street corners and public places—like the charlatan tooth-extractors, in general uniform. He had been arrested as a common thief and incarcerated in Bicêtre. There was no other man who could be heard at an equal distance; *c'etait une qucule terrible* (an awful jaw). The Sans-Culottes of the Faubourg Saint Marceau selected him as their captain. An empty wooden head, to which brandy alone afforded life and voice; on great occasions

Hènriot always took care to be drunk." The heroic deeds of this valiant warrior were confined to the atrocious murders committed during the previous September upon inoffensive persons. This was the creature which henceforth was to hold supreme command of the military forces of Paris.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE DECREE OF ACCUSATION PASSED UPON THE TWENTY-TWO GIRONDISTS.

The representatives who had been traduced during the way, expecting to be murdered in cold blood, had spent the night mostly outside of their domicils. Danton was the first to arrive at the hall of the Convention on the following day. His radiant countenance and calm composure elicited the remark from Louvet to Guadet, "Observe the horrible hopes that illuminate that hideous face!" "True," replied Guadet. "To-day Claudius exiles Cicero."

The Convention having been called to order, the Minister of Justice, and the Mayor of Paris presented themselves, and, in explanation, declared that Hènriot had ordered the alarm gun to be fired in spite of their protests and in defiance of the decree prohibiting the raising of an alarm under penalty of death. The demand made for Hènriot's arrest was opposed by his friends of the Mountain. In the meantime the hall was being filled with so-called petitioners, demanding the suspension of the Committee of Twelve and the arrest of its members.

Barrère, always temporizing, now moved to abolish the Committee of Twelve, but to place the armed forces under the orders of the Convention. Just then, L'Hullier, the Procureur of Paris, appeared before the Convention bringing with him the intentions of the Commune and the Central Committee of the sections; he accused the Girondists of being the instigators of the revolt in the Vendee, and denounced the plans for federalization, declaring that

the City of Paris (meaning, no doubt, "General" Henriot and his Sans-Culottes) would perish for the maintainance of republican unity. Robespierre sustained this demand of the anarchists, and thus opposed Barrère's proposition to place the armed forces of the city under the orders of the National Convention; he insisted upon the summary suppression of the Committee of Twelve, and upon taking severe measures against its members. Robespierre concluded his speech by demanding the adoption of a decree of accusation against all the accomplices of Dumouriez, and against those designated by the petitioners. A decree almost substantially embodying Robespierre's demand but omitting the names of the accused was adopted.

This infamous and high-handed act is generally, but unjustly, laid at the door of the inhabitants of Paris. But the people of Paris, those constituting the well-regulated society of the capital—from the workman at his bench to the banker at his desk—had no hand in these outrageous scenes. This fact is substantiated by official data of the elections being held at this time. They show that of 100,000 voters registered in the forty-eight sections (wards), less than 5,000 voted, and this number represented about the strength of the Jacobins, most of whom were recruited from the provinces, or outside the great city.

The anarchists were not satisfied with their victory of the 31st of May; the twenty-two branded Girondists still held their seats in the Convention, and the insurrectionary assembly—that is the self-constituted rulers, calling themselves "The Central Committee," were still sitting in permanence. It began to dawn even upon the trusting mind of Barrère, that the anarchists of the Commune had arrogated to themselves the sovereignty of France; said he, on the 1st of June, "We must see whether it is the Commune of Paris that represents the French Republic, or whether it is the Convention."

While Barrère was thus expressing his doubts as to the political status of the two bodies, the Central Committee was arranging a definite plan to move upon the National Convention.

Upon Marat's motion it was resolved to surround the Convention with an armed force, and to prevent its members from leaving the hall until it had decreed the accusation of the twenty-two Girondists. The drunken Hènriot, in command of the military, was charged with the execution of this infamous order.

From the 1st to the 2d of June, the alarm-bell never ceased tolling through the long night. At day-break the signal gun was fired, and in a short time 80,000 men were in arms, only about 5,000 of these, however, were known to be loyal to the Jacobins and were under the orders of "General" Hènriot, the remainder being mere lookers-on, without knowledge of what was to be done, and without a leader to organize them against the proposed invasion of the National Convention.

"General" Hènriot, moving his men close up to the entrance of the hall, and a large number of gunners, with lighted matches, being placed in position to guard against any outside interference, the members of the Convention, it will be seen, were completely at his mercy.

Every member was in his seat except those proscribed by the Central Committee, these having been prevailed upon by friends to remain away from the session.

Lanjuinais, the great barrister, who at the age of twenty-two had won by public competition the professorship of ecclesiastical law in the City of Rennes, was in his seat, and, in spite of the shouting and confusion in the galleries, succeeded in making himself heard.

"As long as we are allowed to speak here," said he, "I shall not permit the character of the peoples' representatives to be degraded in my person." Down! down!

yelled the Mountain. "A gathering takes place," continues Lanjuinais; "it appoints a committee to foment a revolt; a commandant is placed at the head of the insurrectionists; all this is permitted, and—"

The cries of "Down! Down!" from the Mountain, added to the continuous and violent threats from the galleries, at this point drowned the voice of the speaker, but the defender of his party remained at his post. During the confusion, the younger Robespierre, accompanied by others, attempted to drag Lonjuinais from the platform. They did not succeed, however, and when order was restored he closed his speech with the demand that the insurrectionary committee be dissolved. No attention was paid to his motion.

The Convention appeared to be completely overcome by the vociferating mob. As the speaker was descending the platform Billaud-Varennes and Tallien asked that the Paris petitioners be allowed to state their demands. The Convention, recovering in a measure from its fright, paid no attention to this request, and "passed to the order of the day." This was a slight not to be borne. Pandemonium, with its whole council-chamber of evil spirits, could not have produced a more tumultuous scene. The galleries and aisles of the hall were packed with men and women from the lowest walks of life.

Streaming out of the hall they rent the air with the cry, "To arms! to arms!" This was more than the weak nerves of the bourgeois members of the center could withstand, and the motion was made to concede the demands of the petitioners, by decreeing the temporary arrest of the twenty-two Deputies proscripted by the Commune. "No! no!" was the loud protest from the Right; "we must all share the fate of our colleagues." At this juncture Barrêre appeared upon the platform, and, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, presented its report in reference to the accused Deputies.

"The Committee," he said, "had not deemed it necessary to adopt the measure of arrest; they had preferred to address themselves to the patriotism, the generosity and love of country of the accused members, and to ask them to temporarily suspend their powers." In conclusion he recommended the adoption of a decree to this effect. The Deputies, Isnard, Lanjuinais, Fauchet, and Dussault, at once tendered their resignations. But Lanjuinais arose, and, with dignity, exclaimed: "Expect of me neither a suspension nor the resignation of my powers. The sacrificer of old, when his victim was dragged to the altar, covered it with flowers and chaplets, and without insult. The sacrifice of our powers is required; but the sacrifice ought to be voluntary. It can not be voluntary. We can not leave this place, either by the door or the windows; the cannons are aimed in our faces: we dare not express our sentiments!"

Barbaroux followed, and, with equal courage, refused to resign. "If," said he, "the Convention formally demands my resignation, I shall comply. But how can I resign my powers when hundreds are writing to me from the different Departments of France, assuring me that I have performed the duties entrusted to me faithfully, and exhorting me to still continue in the same course. I have sworn to die at my post, and I shall keep my oath!" Several resignations now followed, when the proceedings of the Convention were interrupted by a vigorous complaint from Representative Dussaulx, stating that he and others had been thrust back by the sentries in attempting to leave the hall. La Croix, of the Mountain, even, appeared upon the platform with his shirt torn to tatters, and protested against this attempt to terrorize the Representatives.

The Sergeant-at-Arms being called before the House, declared that the men he had placed at the doors had

been removed and others substituted; that he and his subalterns had been prohibited from leaving the hall by strangers with mustaches (a fashion for wearing the beard not usual at that time).

Barrére informed the Convention that at that very moment money was being distributed among the mob carousing outside. The members, becoming thoroughly aroused to the danger threatening their very existence, adopted the advice of Barrére, to place themselves under the protection of the National Guard. The President left his chair and, followed by two-thirds of the members, proceeded to the door. The Mountain, almost wholly cognizant of the conspiracy, remained in their seats, but, upon consultation, concluded to follow their colleagues to save appearances. The members, not less than 700, met no obstruction until General Hènriot and his staff barred the way, whereupon the President of the Convention ordered him and his armed force to retire. But the "General" replied with emphasis: "Until the twenty-two Deputies are surrendered, no one shall leave this hall." The President then called upon the soldiers before him "to arrest this rebel." Hènriot, drawing his sabre, in a flash turned to his troops and called out:

"*Aux Armes! Canonniers a vos pieces!!*"

The cannoneers seized their burning fuses and the cavalry drew their sabers.

Thus threatened, the procession filed to the right, along the line of troops, who were continually yelling in their ears, "*Vive la Republique! Vive la Montagne! A bas le coté Droit! A la Guillotine les Girondists!* Reaching the gate of the Place du Carousel, the outlet to the street, their passage was stopped. Turning and passing through the Tuilleries into the garden, there they were met with similar cries. Just beyond, upon reaching the old bridge Tournant, an armed mob was encountered, howling,

ROBESPIERRE.

"*Vive Marat!*" Upon closer examination, this arch traitor was seen at its head gesticulating in his wonted manner. Approaching the members with inconceivable audacity, he called out:

"In the name of the people, *I summon you* to return to the posts you have thus cowardly adandoned!" Strange as it may now seem, the Convention obeyed him and reentered the hall. Thus did unbridled anarchy triumph over law, order, and the real patriots of France, on the 2d of June, 1793. Upon reassembling, Couthon, of the Mountain, in the face of what had taken place, arose and said: "Citizens, all the members must now feel sure of their liberty. You have marched out against the wishes of the people and have found them patient, generous and incapable of harming their representatives; but they are embittered against the few who would enslave them. Since you are now at liberty to continue your deliberations, I demand, *for the present*, not a decree of accusation against the twenty-two members accused, but a decree prescribing domiciliary arrests, including the Committee of Twelve." This list was now examined by Marat, who, in defiance of the Convention, substituted and added such names as suited his pleasure.

The list being thus completed, the Right demanded the vote on this question be taken by calling the roll, hoping that the more timid, in being compelled to vote publicly, rather than dishonor themselves by countenancing such revolting injustice would defeat it. Two or three protested "that, being threatened by cannon and bayonets they would not vote." Whereupon two-thirds of the Convention arose and declared themselves not willing to vote under the circumstances. Accordingly, only about forty members, of the Right, cast their votes against the decree. "This decree, therefore," says Meillans, "was adopted by the Mountain, assisted by a sufficient number of

strangers, who had taken the vacant seats of members and whose functions they had usurped." There was, however, this proviso to the decree, namely, that the persons designated be placed under arrest, to remain in their respective domicils with a municipal guard stationed at the door.

Thus, standing upon the ramparts of rational liberty, defending inch by inch the rights of their constituents, the purity of representative government, and the fair reputation of the Republic, the official life of this heroic band of French patriots, known as the members of the Gironde, was with systematic brutality crushed out.

A descendant of one of these heroes, M. Gaudet, justly says: "They marched against the excesses of anarchy with the same ardor as against monarchy and the foreign foe. They triumphed over the latter enemies of their countrymen, but their Titan-like efforts could not prevail against organized anarchy." Says Thiers, at the close of his narrative of the terrible scenes of the 2d of June: "Now, all legality having been overcome, all remonstrances stifled with the suspension of the Girondists, and the danger becoming more alarming, that terrible dictatorship, composed of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety, was completed. Henceforth scenes are enacted a hundred times more horrible than those which aroused the indignation of the Girondists." As for them, their political history is finished. All that remains to be added is the account of their heroic death.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE GIRONDISTS—DEATH OF MARAT.

The sentiments of the Girondists during this ordeal are pathetically expressed in a letter written to his constituents by Gensonné.

"I, Armand Gensonné, Representative of the French people, convinced that I am nearing the time when I shall fall a victim to the conspiracies of a faction against liberty and the Republic, a faction whose guilty efforts I have not ceased to oppose, and in view of the fact that at this very moment, while I am hastily tracing these lines, I have reason to believe the National Convention will be forced to order my arrest, *or to permit it*, and that I may expect at any moment to fall at the demand of a popular movement, or of judicial assassination, I declare to the citizens of my department, and to all France, that I shall welcome death if, thereby, the establishment of the Republic and the happiness of the people can be secured. I declare that I have never ceased to be wholly devoted to France, and with no other ambition than to perform the mandates of her people with courage and integrity of purpose; that my only desire has been the adoption of a Republican Constitution; that I have lived, and shall die a Republican.

"I beseech, my fellow-citizens of Bordeaux, in particular, and the Republicans of all France, to carefully scrutinize the charges—if there be such—which may be brought against me, etc., etc.

"In these exciting events, during which I shall, in all probability, meet my death, I conjure all good citizens,

and especially you of the South, not to charge the excesses committed here to a majority of the people of Paris—under the circumstances they cannot prevent it—and that you remember the services this great city has rendered to the Revolution, and reserve your wrath for the miscreants who have planned this infamous conspiracy against her. Prepared for the worst, in thought I embrace my fellow-citizens, all friends of liberty, and of the French Republic. Adding to my services for my country my life-blood, my last sigh shall be for France, and my last words, '*Vive la Republique!*'"

Three days after the adoption of the decree of suspension, Representative Fonfrède appeared before the Convention and requested immediate action in the disposition of the Girondists' case. "It is necessary," said he, "to use all possible expedition in proving the innocence of our colleagues. I have staid here for no other object than to aid in their defense. I swear to you that an armed force is marching from Bordeaux to avenge the violence offered their Representatives."

This threat excited the Mountain and had an opposite effect to the one desired by Fonfrède.

To say that the citizens not only of Bordeaux, but the people of every Department of France were in a fever of excitement, would but faintly express the fact. They were ready and anxious to take up arms. Many of the Girondists, having escaped from Paris, were now engaged in their respective Departments organizing a general movement against the anarchists at the capital.

"As early as the 13th of June," says Thiers, "the Department of Eure met together and raised the first signal of insurrection." The National Convention, it was declared, being no longer a free, representative body, it became all good citizens to make it so. It was resolved that a force of 4,000 men be raised for the purpose of

marching to Paris. Commissioners were sent to the neighboring Department to urge co-operation. Two commissioners sent by the Convention to the Department of Calvados to accelerate the organization of troops, were arrested. Normandy had agreed to send representatives to an extraordinary meeting to be held at Caen for the purpose of forming themselves into a *confederation.* All the Departments of Bretagne, such as Cotes-du-Nord, Finistère, Morbihan, Vilaine, etc., passed similar resolutions, and dispatched commissioners to Rennes to establish there a central authority for Bretagne.

The Department of the Basin of the Loire, except the section occupied by the Vendeeans, followed the general movement. They offered to send commissioners to Bourges for the purpose of holding a Convention, to be composed of two Deputies from each Department, the object of which should be the organization of a force to march upon Paris for the liberation of the arrested Representatives. At Bordeaux the excitement increased daily. All the constituted authorities assembled at a meeting, called "The People's Commission of Public Welfare," and resolved to raise an armed force, at the same time dispatching commissioners to all the Departments inviting united action. Toulouse had raised a thousand men. Its authorities declared they no longer recognized the authority of the Paris Convention and were ready to form a federation with the Departments of the South. The upper Departments, Tarn, Lot, Garonne, etc., followed the example set by Bordeaux and Toulouse. Nimes declared itself in a state of resistance, and Marseilles had a force of six thousand men in readiness, while Lyons pledged itself to muster thirty thousand. Thus, in an incredibly short space of time, seventy-two of the eighty-three Provincial Departments of France were in arms against the usurpers in Paris.

It was France against a handful of demagogues and a few newspapers styling themselves the French people. Their principle at stake still continued to be, "The Indivisibility of the Republic." The Unity of France, as understood by Marat, Danton and Robespierre, however, was not a unity of principles, purposes and aspirations, but the unity of Nero and Caligula, with this difference, that while the latter strengthened their thrones in the imperial palaces, the former strengthened theirs among the mobs in the streets.

Alarmed at the threatening state of affairs in the Departments, Barrére proposed to the Convention the policy of compromises. Conciliatory measures, however, were tantamount to a return to law and order—the rule of the majority and the punishment of the criminal and lawless; a gloomy future for such as had defied all law and whose only hope lay in continued disorder and agitation. The battle of the Mountain against the earnest, honest and wise Girondists had been waged for political supremacy; it must now be continued for personal safety.

The Girondists were charged by the Mountain with favoring a system of government for France similar to that but recently adopted by the United States; in fact, Federalism was the chief accusation brought against them. On the other hand Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and their followers, were desciples of the socialistic theory of National Supremacy, which system for organization they had styled "The Unity of France," or "Indivisibility of the Republic."

A socialist panegyrist of Danton, in a recent work, calls him "thegreatest of French Statesmen," "the power behind Evolution." "That power," he continues, "which irresistibly pushes the stupid, selfish and indolent multitude onward; that power which raises a comparatively few to co-operate with him." As to Danton's co-operators,

Marat and Robespierre, they were sufficient to push the stupid, selfish and indolent multitude of Paris on to such a state of frenzy that it was easy to establish any system of government, or to prevent any from being established.

Sentimentalism was not an attribute of Danton's character. He was a man with a powerful organization, mentally and physically. With him it was rule or ruin, and conciliation at this juncture meant ruin. The law of evolution, which in 1789 substituted liberty for absolutism and placed a ballot in the hand of every French citizen, by which act four million freemen were expected to work out the destiny of France, was interfered with by the Dantons and Marats, and therefore these men were traitors to their country, and deserved to be dealt with as public enemies. The crisis in the Convention which had placed the Mountain in possession of the National authority, its leaders, rejecting all compromises, proceeded to use it against the country itself.

Danton, adroitly drawing a parallel between the past dangers which the Republic had happily escaped and her present emergency, declared the country could be saved only by the immediate and energetic assertion of National authority.

The Convention was thereupon moved to the adoption of a decree directed against all the Departments, requiring them to retract their proceedings within twenty-four hours after its reception, upon penalty of being outlawed. It further decreed that the people of Paris had, by their insurrection of the 2d of June, deserved well of the country; that the departmental or municipal authorities could neither quit their places nor remove from one town to another; that they could not correspond together, and that all the Commissioners sent from Department to Department for the purpose of forming a coalition were

to be immediately seized by the *good citizens* and sent to Paris under escort.

The only good citizens in the Provinces, in the opinion of the Mountain, were the Jacobins, who were now ordered to seize the Representatives of the people and all actively opposed to their methods, and hurry them off to Paris to be guillotined.

In the meantime, the Departments of the North continued to organize for resistance, and at Bordeaux the sentiment against the leaders of the *Coup d'etat* of the 2nd of June was indescribable. Along the banks of the Rhone, and from Marseilles to Lyons, the inhabitants were making preparations for a general junction of the federative forces, for the purpose of marching upon Paris. When the obstacles to be overcome are considered, the failure of the enterprise is not a matter of wonder. In the first place, the movements of the bodies of citizens was necessarily slow, while the Convention hesitated not an instant. Communication between the Federates was difficult, consequently combined action was almost impossible. The Mountain, on the other hand, acted in perfect unison, their movements being directed in the name of France.

The hastily organized forces of the Departments, although full of patriotisms, were undrilled and undisciplined, hardly more than a body of recruits, while the Convention had under control the regular army of France, thoroughly disciplined and accustomed to strict obedience to orders. The Convention issued its decrees with the weight and prestige of legal authority, while the forces of the Departments stood in the attitude of rebels to the Republic. As might have been expected, the decrees of the Convention intimidated the politic and half-hearted, who submitted at the outset; the Departmental authorities, dependent upon the Convention for their tenure of office, being threatened with outlawry, submitted one after

another to the decrees of the Convention. Thus, within the space of three months, with the exception of the larger cities, all resistance to the usurping power at Paris had been overcome, and all hope of establishing a representative government in France abandoned by the Conservatives. The following decree passed against the people of Bordeaux, on the 6th of August, will serve to show the manner in which the country was brought under the rule of terror:

"All the acts performed by the gathering at Bordeaux, called 'The People's Commission of Public Safety' are hereby annulled, as destructive to liberty and the sovereignty of the French people.

"Second. All members composing this gathering, as well as those who promoted, abetted and adhered to the acts there promulgated, are hereby declared traitors to their country, and outlawed. Their property shall be confiscated for the benefit of the Republic."

While the inhabitants of the Departments were thus being subdued, an event occurred at Paris which furnished additional material to the Mountain for exciting the multitude still further against the Girondists. It was the assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday.

This young woman, aged but twenty-five, was born at St. Saturins. She was handsome, witty, and endowed with a masculine understanding. Deeply impressed with the truth of her father's publications on the privileges and local independence of his Province, an enthusiast for republican institutions, based upon law, the Girondists appeared to her as the embodiment of these principles, and when the news of the outrage upon these Deputies reached her quiet home, she at once determined to be their avenger. The war in her Department (Calvados) had begun, and believing the death of the usurpers at Paris would insure victory, she resolved to perform that

greatest of all acts, the consecration of her life to the cause of her country. She left Caen on the 1st of July, arriving in Paris on the 3rd. The second day after her arrival she went to the Palace Royal, bought a knife, hired a coach and drove to the house of Marat. Being denied admittance, she returned to her hotel and wrote a letter to him, in which she claimed to have important news to communicate. Fearing to be again disappointed, she wrote another letter still more pressing and took it to Marat's residence herself. The Deputy, who at the time lay in his bath, ordered her to be immediately admitted; they being left alone, this young girl answered faithfully his inquiries respecting the proscribed Deputies at Caen. Marat wrote their names upon a memorandum book, and, with an air of satisfaction, said: "Very good; they shall all go to the guillotine!" "To the guillotine!" ejaculated the young girl vehemently, and quickly drawing a dagger from her bosom, buried it to the hilt in his heart. The single exclamation, "Help," escaped Marat, and he was no more.

The last official act of this heartless creature was his unnatural demand for General Custin's proscription. On the 28th of August, this brave officer, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the North, whose only crime consisted in having expressed sentiments of horror at the excesses of the Mountain, was placed under arrest, dragged before the Revolutionary Tribunal, condemned, and executed the next day.

Charlotte Corday suffered the death penalty on the 15th of July. When brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal she was calm and composed. "It is I, who killed Marat," she said. She admitted all the charges brought against her, with the exception of that of complicity with the Girondists. "I took council with no one," she said. "I was anxious to bring peace to my country." On her way to the scaffold her beautiful face

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betrayed no emotion; an angelic smile alone showed to the multitude her consciousness of a task well done. While she ascended the guillotine her eyes flashed and her face still glowed with unaffected pride and pleasure.

Even in her last moments, the handkerchief which covered her bosom having been removed, her cheeks were suffused with the blush of modesty. She was a descendant of the great Pierre Corneille.

This unfortunate woman utterly failed in her purpose, as murderers always will. The peace of France was not secured, for Marat living was a monster who, if permitted to run his mad career, could not have surpassed Robespierre in wanton atrocity, and, in the nature of things, must have eventually received his reward at the hands of the executioner. But Marat assassinated was a martyred saint. He died poor, five francs being the whole sum left of his earthly possessions. This very circumstance endeared him to the masses. To them, his enemies were the enemies of the people. His death was seized upon to justify the taking of other lives. The next victims demanded by the Mountain were Marie Antoinette, the imprisoned Girondists, and the seventy-three Deputies —signers of the protest against the riotous acts of the 2nd of June, and against the arbitrary ejectment of the twenty-two Girondists from the Convention.

The seventy-three Deputies were seized in their seats and placed under arrest, the Girondists being turned over to Fouquier-Tinville, the Prosecuting Attorney of the Revolutionary Tribunal — one of the most evil and perverse characters of the Revolution.

On the 14th of October, and before the Girondists were brought to trial, the ex-Queen was taken before this tribunal merely to surround her immolation with the appearances of a legal proceeding. Her condemnation and execution were foreordained, and formed only a part in the

sanguinary programme adopted by the ruling faction. Whether merited or not, her execution, the same as that of the King, was as unnecessary as it was cruel. Instead of advancing the cause of liberty, its growth was retarded in Europe by these wanton acts for almost a century. The oppressed people on the continent greatly preferred the despotism of their crowned rulers to Danton's and Robespierre's conception of liberty.

On the 3rd of October, Deputy Amar, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, read a report before the Convention, charging the accused Deputies with "Conspiracy against the 'Unity and Indivisibility' of the Republic, and against the liberty and security of the French people." Upon hearing the report, based upon expressions made during debates, and upon writings of public concern, the Convention as a body, having lost all dignity and self-control, decreed that their most virtuous and able colleagues be delivered over to their mortal enemies, to stand the insults and mockery of a trial. Of the forty members included in the decree, only twenty-one were thus surrendered, the rest, for the time being, having effected their escape.

The members placed on trial were Brissot, Lasource, Vergniaud, Ducos, Gensonné, Valazé, Lehardy, Gardien, Boileau, Vigée, Fonfrède, Lacaze, Duprat, Duperret, Mainville, Fauchet, Carra, Duchtâel, Antiboul, Sillery, and Lesterp-Beauvais.

On the 24th of October, these Representatives, the most illustrious of the National Convention, appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal, seated upon the benches as criminals. Their demeanor was calm and dignified but without ostentation. The great Virgniaud, serene, and proud in the conciousness of his martyrdom; Brissot, the philosopher, grave and reflecting, the sad expression upon his intellectual face showing how deeply he felt the degrada-

tion of his country; Gensonné with lips curled in disdain as his honest eyes fell upon the ignoble judges and Fouquier — Tinville, the former detective, now dignified with the office of Prosecuting Attorney—these men represented a spectacle upon which coming generations will look with an admiration not inferior to that bestowed upon Socrates and the Gracchii.

Mercier says, of the Attorney: "Nothing aroused his mind but the prospect of inflicting death, and then his animation was such that his countenance became in truth radiant and expressive."

And the witnesses who appeared against these men of untarnished virtue! The maudlin Hèbert, first ticket-peddler at a small theatre, discharged for dishonesty; then lackey, discharged again for stealing, after which he lead a life best expressed by the Americanism "dead beat," until conditions became favorable for the publication of *Père Duchsne*, a disreptuable newspaper more virulent and brutal than Marat's *L'Ami du Peuple*; Chabot, another "Septembriseur;" a certain Desfieux, and other obscure individuals, the scum thrown upon the political surface by the Revolution—creatures filled with hate and revenge against the noble patriots, whom, upon many occasions, they had been compelled to brand as malefactors. These were the witnesses the procûtion confidently expected would impeach the honor, the loyalty and patriotism of a Virgniaud, a Brissot, a Gensonné, and the others.

To save appearances, a few men of reputation and character had also been summoned as witnesses. These, however, knew nothing against the accused, or, upon being intimidated, as every conscientious citizen was, would make some general charge, such as the federalizing tendencies of the Girondists, and their friendship for General Dumouriez. The whole procedure, however,

shows that the "crime" of federalism was all the prosecution desired to prove in order to secure conviction and the subsequent public sanction of their verdict.

The President read the act of accusation, and Pache, the Mayor of Paris, was introduced as first witness.

"While I was Minister," said he, "I noticed a faction in the Convention the acts of which were tending toward the ruin of the Republic, and what confirmed my suspicion was its demand for an *armed departmental force for the purpose of federating the Republic.* The Commission of Twelve," he continued, "was contrary to all principles, and the arrests it ordered had the object of inciting an insurrection against the Convention, in order to furnish an opportunity to slander Paris"—meaning the expression of sentiments against the monsters ordering the murders of the 2d of September, as slandering Paris.

Chaumette, a member of the Convention, and Prosecuting Attorney of the Commune of Paris, a Jacobin of good standing, had the audacity to charge the Girondists with being themselves responsible for the September horrors. He also accused them with instigating the popular uprisings in the Departments, and of having favored the King's appeal to the people of France just previous to his execution.

This latter charge is as curious as it was significant.—To a Jacobin it would appear that "the people of France," were only the members of the Jacobin Clubs,—absolutely insignificant however, when counted by numbers only.

On the 25th, Destournelles, a former member of the Commune, and present Minister of General Contributions, testified against the accused to the effect that they sought to master the Convention; direct the course of the Revolution; calumniate Paris, and excite the Departments against her, and, also, that they favored the appeal of the King.

The infamous Hébert was then called to the witness stand.

"There existed," said he, "at the beginning of the Legislative Assembly, a faction which constantly protected the tyrant. The Chief of this faction was Brissot. This man has long lived in England where he has acted the part of a spy. His rascalities have been committed in company with such other criminals as Bailly and Lafayette." Hébert then accused the Girondists with the responsibility of the Champ de Mars massacres. A tirade of abuse followed these absurd allegations, against Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné and Pètion, concluding with the astounding accusation that they had conspired for the destruction of Robespierre. This appears to have been the most fatal charge yet brought. Chabot, the friend of Marat, declared Brissot was the agent of Pitt, of England, and had aided in arming the foreign powers against Paris. All were accused of having favored the King's appeal to the people, and of having labored to federalize France, Chabot concluding with the statement that work on the Constitution had been persistently retarded by the men on trial."

To this Brissot replied: "The minutes of the Convention will show that, since April 15th, we have urged the discussion of the Constitution, upon an average, three times a week."

"Yes," interrupted the President of the Tribunal, ironically, "the British Constitution of Condorcet." To which Brissot instantly replied: "This Constitution was more democratic than any that had ever existed, that of the United States not excepted."

The President hereupon retorted: "The best proof of the truth of their intention to federalize the Republic is Brissot's citation of the Constitution of the United States—a citation which was constantly made by all the accused."

Upon such flimsy charges, upon accusations reflecting honor upon the condemned, this noble band of scholars,

statesmen and patriots were sentenced at midnight, October 30th, to die upon the scaffold.

The remainder of the night was spent together in friendly intercourse, in listening to speeches from Vergniaud and others and in singing the patriotic hymns of France.

The next day, conducted through the thronged streets to the Place de la Revolution, after a farewell embrace, one after the other mounted the scaffold and with the shout, *"Vive la Republique"* still warm upon their lips, heroically received the fatal stroke.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EXECUTION OF EX-MAYOR BAILLY AND MADAME ROLAND—
DESTRUCTION OF THE HÉBERTISTS—
EXECUTION OF DANTON.

All opposition to the supreme will of the Mountain having been removed, and the voice of every man of rational convictions effectually silenced, the socialistic theory of regulating by *l'order de l'etat* the affairs of the people was now to be put in practice. The energy of the Mountain, in regulating political opinions, had borne its legitimate result, and it was maintained that, with the same degree of energy exerted in regulating the business affairs of the people, the annoying cry for bread would never more be heard in the land.

Administrative and political "unity" could alone be maintained by uniformity of aims, customs, habits, time, dress and religion. The Convention being the supreme power of the Republic, these reforms could only be instituted by this body. As this body was considered too cumbersome, the Committee of Public Safety was selected for the execution of its orders, this committee having been reorganized by appointing its members exclusively from the Mountain, Robespierre being of the number.

Unfortunately for the tranquillity of the members of this committee, at the very threshold of their duties, they were met by the Commune, or city government of Paris, ready to dispute their authority. Chaumette, Hébert, the editor, and Rousin, Commander of the Revolutionary Army, were the leaders of this body, of which Marat had been the distinguished head. Their missionary or chief agitator in

the faubourgs and among the rabble was Anacharsis Clootz, a crack-brained theorist from Germany, a violent atheist, and apostle of communism in property.

While this struggle was in progress, although opposed upon most questions, these two factions were agreed upon the necessity of ridding France of all suspects. And who were the suspects? Let us examine the list of crimes of which a man could be accused, this list being sent to every section in Paris to aid in making arrests:

"Those who, in the gatherings of the people, dampen their ardor through crafty speeches, by cries and threats; those who, more prudent, talk mysteriously of the disasters of the Republic, deplore the lot of the people, and are always ready to propagate bad news; those who have changed their conduct and language according to events; who, silent regarding the crimes of the royalists and the federalists, declaim against the slightest mistake of the patriots, and are all indulgence in whatever concerns a moderate or an aristocrat; those who pity the *farmers* and the greedy shopkeepers, against whom the law is obliged to take action; those who, though they have the words liberty, republic, and country continually in their minds, associate with ex-nobles, priests, counter-revolutionists, aristocrats and moderates and take an interest in their fate; those who have not taken an active part in anything connected with the Revolution, and who, to excuse themselves from so doing, plead the payment of their contributions, their services in the National Guard by substitute or otherwise; those who, though having done nothing against liberty, have done nothing for it; those who have not attended the meetings of their sections, alleging in excuse that they are no speakers, or are prevented by business; those who speak disrespectfully of the constituted authorities, of the executors of the law, of popular (Jacobin) societies, and of the defenders of the people's liberties;

those who have signed counter-revolutionary petitions, or have frequented anti-civic societies and clubs; those who are known to have been sincere partisans of Lafayette, and those who marched to the charge in the Champ de Mars."

As would be naturally inferred from this list of crimes, the prisons of Paris were soon overflowing, and private residences were taken to confine the suspects, their rent to be paid for by the prisoners.

Collot d'Herbois, Fouché and Couthon, three of the most radical members of the Committee of Public Safety, were sent to Lyons, and nearly decimated her inhabitants. Toulon, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Caen experienced the same fate. At Nantes hundreds were placed in boats and sunk in the river. In Paris the guillotine was set up in permanence. The first victims were such prominent citizens, outside of the Convention, as had expressed sentiments opposed to this anarchistic method of republicanizing France; men whose pens were feared; these were silenced by "removal." If the statement of Allison, the historian, is authoritative, Robespierre used this system of summary removal for purposes of extortion, and gives the following illustration: The Duke of Orleans, being despised by the Royalists on account of the betrayal of his relatives, Louis XVI. and the Queen, and distrusted by the Jacobins, no objection was offered to his "removal." "When led out to the place of execution," says Allison, "he gazed for a time, with a smile upon his countenance, on the Palais Royal, the scenes of his former orgies; he was detained about a quarter of an hour in front of this palace by order of Robespierre, *who had in vain asked his daughter's hand in marriage, and had promised, if he would relent in this extremity, to excite a tumult which would save his life.* Ambitious and treacherous as the Duke was, he retained too much honor to save himself at such a sacrifice,

and was kept waiting twenty minutes before allowed to continue his journey to the scaffold, in the hope that at the last moment he would relent."

Among those who had more especially incurred the displeasure of the "patriots," and who, in the field of political and scientific literature, had acquired world-wide reputations, were ex-Mayor Bailly and Madame Roland. Their "removal" was not determined upon, however, to gratify a sentiment of revenge, but as a matter of prudence. The pen in such hands was in danger of supplanting the sword, "and although the freedom of the press must be unrestricted," said Robespierre, after the execution of the Girondists, "but it must not be employed to destroy liberty." These able and incisive writers were a menace to the peace of Deputy Robespierre. As Madame Roland was the most to be feared, she was selected to die first.

Of that noble band of patriots, representing the Gironde, the most central and interesting figure was Madame Roland. We have seen that in the seclusion of her study, while presiding at her husband's unpretentious table, surrounded by the scholars and statesmen of France, she remained a true woman. Consistent with her nature, she died one. The following picture of her appearance on the day of her trial and condemnation is given by an eye-witness:

"Although past the prime of life, she was a magnificent looking woman, tall and elegant in form, with an expression infinitely superior to that usually found in women beaming from her large, black eyes, at the same time forcible and mild. The day on which she was to meet her fate, with solicitous care she had robed herself in a white gown; her long, black hair hung in rich masses to her waist. After her sentence she returned to her prison with unfeigned cheerfulness. By a sign that was not to

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be mistaken, she conveyed to us the information that she was to die."

Truer words were never uttered than those which escaped her lips while passing the statue of liberty, on her way to execution. "Oh Liberty, Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name!" Upon receiving the terrible news of his wife's death, M. Roland, who had accepted asylum at the house of a friend near Rouen, at once determined upon suicide. A short time after, he was discovered at the foot of a tree near the highway, bleeding from wounds made by his own sword.

This honest man, by his exposure of the misdeeds of the Commune, in his capacity of Minister of the Interior, had drawn upon himself the bitterest hatred of the Jacobins, and sooner or later, must have been called to answer his charges against them with his life.

The next victim whose quiet existence disturbed the dreams of the "patriots" was M. Bailly, the first Mayor after the Revolution, and the intimate friend of General Lafayette. A scholar and writer, he had rendered eminent service to the cause of freedom. While Mayor of Paris, his chief occupation consisted in devising means and carrying them into execution for the provisioning of the city. He was remarkable for his gentleness of disposition, his moderation and philanthropy; nevertheless he was an enemy to wrong-doers, and an outspoken opponent to the violence and excesses of the Commune and the Mountain. He wielded not only an able, but a fearless pen. All sorts of absurd charges were trumped up in order to stifle all sympathy for his feeble condition and to arouse the rabble against him, so that when the aged man was led to his doom, this same multitude, which he had often saved from starvation, hooted at and insulted him as he passed on, while others struck him with sticks and pelted him with mud, not ceasing their brutal barbarities until their victim

was fastened to the fatal plank by the executioner. The Girondists who had escaped to the provinces were pursued with fiendish relentlessness, and finally driven to suicide or into the hands of the executioner.

The "patriots" considered themselves not only the ablest of statesmen, but men of military genius. Their committees directed the armies, issued orders to the old generals, insisted upon this and that movement, commanded attacks, when attack was certain destruction; in short, raised havoc with the army, and reverses and severe losses in the field were the natural consequences. If, perchance, a general, for some reason or other, incurred their displeasure, he was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal and summarily disposed of. General Custine was thus wantonly sacrificed, and on the 25th and 26th of November, respectively, General Brunet and the victorious General Houchard were likewise sent to the scaffold.

To complete the disorder and intensify the feeling of insecurity in commercial affairs, a number of tradesmen and speculators were arrested as suspects for violations of the "maximum" decree. This price-regulating ordinance had proven a great hardship to the retailers buying their goods before the decree was issued, and at a higher price than that fixed by the decree. Fearing to be ruined, many had closed their shops. The Convention, in other words the Commune, and the Committee of Public Safety, now seem to have vied with each other to prove which could reach the highest degree of absurdity.

"The Commune," says M. Thiers, "obliged every dealer to state the quantity of goods he had on hand, the orders for more, and the time of their expected arrival. Every shop-keeper transacting business for a year, who had either relinquished it or allowed it to languish was declared a suspect and imprisoned as such. To prevent confusion and the accumulations arising from an over desire to lay

in a stock of goods, the Commune decreed that the consumer must only buy of the retailer, and the retailer of the wholesaler, the quantity which each should be allowed to order being also fixed by law. Thus the retail grocer could not buy more than twenty-five pounds of sugar at a time and the tavern-keeper only twelve, the Revolutionary Committee being charged with the delivery of these purchasing tickets to the tradesmen, etc. As the throng about the bakers' doors still continued undiminished, it was decided that those who had come last should be served first; but this regulation served neither to lessen the tumult nor to repress the eagerness of the customer The people complaining that the worst flour was reserved for them, it was resolved, that, in the city of Paris, there should in the future be made but one sort of bread, this to be composed of three-fourths wheaten flour and one-fourth rye."

The Convention after a time tried its hand also at the regulating business. It decreed that a statement should be made by the producer, of the cost of price of goods in 1790, at the place of production; to this price, one-third was to be added, *owing to circumstances;* then a fixed sum for transportation to the place of consumption; then five per cent. for the profit of the wholesale dealer, and ten for the retailer. The local adminstrations of the consumers, were to superintend what was produced and consumed, thus placing three-fourths of the private business of the people of France in the hands of officials. The general supervision of this patronalistic system was placed in the hands of a commission of three, appointed by the Convention. It was to see that the tariff of prices be strictly adhered to; that the commission perform its duties; that a statement of the articles of provision and subsistence throughout France be forthwith completed; that it order the transfer of provisions from one

department to another, and fix the requisitions for the armies.

The next thing to regulate was the circulating medium. A decree forbidding the traffic in specie had long been in operation; but, at this juncture, a law was enacted forbidding bargains to be made promising payment in silver or paper, and, as the people began to hoard specie, it was decreed that hidden gold, silver or jewels, if discovered, should belong partly to the state and partly to the informer. Unable to secrete or trade with these, under threat of being declared a suspect, the people began to prefer the assignats, and, outbidding the Convention in its regulating mania, some of the commoners ordered specie to be brought in to be exchanged for assignats. One excellent reform was brought about during this time of general regulation, "by order of the State." This was the introduction of the decimal system in weights and measures. An attempt was about to be made to apply the decimal system to time. The course of nature, however, having proved an insurmountable obstacle, the moon persisting in her twelve revolutions a year, the old twelve-month system had to be maintained; still, not to be vanquished entirely, the month was divided into three decades of ten days, each of ten hours, the tenth to be a day of rest and recreation. The months were named for the seasons in which they occur. For instance, the year began with the autumn, and the first month was called Vendemiaire, etc. But the whole twelve months only made three hundred and sixty days! What was to be done with the five extra periods of time? They were called the Sans-Culottides, and were set apart for national rejoicings or holidays.

Political opinions, business affairs, and the time of the people having been regulated, reformed, and made uniform, by order of Robespierre's faction in the Convention, the

Hébertists controlling the Commune set about "dethroning the King of Heaven, the same as they had dethroned the King of France." With the guillotine before their eyes, they compelled the Bishop of Paris and his vicars to abjure Christianity at the bar of the Convention. Through the efforts of Chaumette, the Cathedral of Notre Dame was converted into a "Temple of Reason," and on the 10th of November the Festival of Reason was held with imposing ceremonies. All churches were compelled to either close their doors or be transformed into "Temples of Reason."

Robespierre, whose early training had been of a religious character, denounced these innovations at the Jacobin Club, declaring atheism to be the religion of the aristocrats, and obnoxious to the common people. "The idea of a God," said he, "is popular with the masses, and if no God exists, we must make one."

A division in the faction of "Regulators" soon became apparent. Danton had grown skeptical of their power to establish a republic upon the system of force. Agreeing with Robespierre in his opposition to the atheistic comedy now being played by the Hébertists, he was as much opposed to the indiscriminate slaughter inaugurated all over the country by the decree of the suspects. This terrible law had come grimly forward to torment its inventors.

Married to an attractive young widow, Danton had retired to the country to spend a few months in her society. Upon his return to the capital, it was noticed that his views had been considerably modified. He who had carried his war against the Girondists to the steps of the scaffold; who had been the prime mover in all the acts of violence committed by the Mountain since the 10th of August, 1792, now began openly to express sentiments of regret at the unwarranted execution of these Deputies,

advocating the formation of a legally-constituted authority with well-defined laws to supplant the autocratic and arbitrary Revolutionary Tribunal. In his less sanguinary views he was joined by some of the most influential members of the Mountain.

At this time, the fall of 1793, Robespierre occupied the most conspicuous place in the Convention. His austere manner, in imitation of the ancient republicans, and his seeming devotion to the interests of the people, as represented in the Jacobin organizations, had made him the incorruptible idol of this element. Their admiration and support had been so demonstrative and unfailing during the whole course of the Revolution, that he had become fixed in the belief that he was, indeed, endowed with all the attributes they claimed for him; his virtue, his probity, his devotion to the cause of liberty, were beyond reproach. He probably never said, "*La Revolution c'est moi,*" but he believed in his potency and destiny with as much sincerity as did Louis XIV., when he said, "L'etat c'est moi."

The theory of Rousseau, that human misery is the result of human depravity, Robespierre had accepted, and believing that vice and immorality could only be obliterated from the face of the earth by force, he had used force. The two factions which had now arisen, Danton and his following on one side, and the Hébertists on the other, stood in a menacing attitude to the fulfillment of Robespierre's designs.

Danton was against the continuance of the Revolutionary Tribunal; Robespierre was in favor of it. In support of his stand, he said in the Convention, "The people can be influenced by reason, but the enemies of the people can only be influenced by terror. If the source of popular government in peace be virtue, the source of popular government in revolution is both virtue and terror. Terror

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without virtue is fatal; virtue without terror is powerless. Subdue, then, the enemies of liberty with terror."

Charging the two factions opposed to him with dangerous heresies—heresies threatening the existence of the Republic—one through weakness, the other with advocating extreme atheistic doctrines—Robespierre, on the 15th of December, opened his attack on the latter, composed of the Hébertists, in a craftily-worded speech, closing with the demand for a decree declaring unlawful "all outrages and measures against the freedom of worship." In consequence, a few days after, Hébert, whose paper had received immense subsidies from the Commune, Clootz, Rousin and others of this faction were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, sentenced and executed. Robespierre's path was thus cleared of one dangerous obstruction. Three months of wrestling with the Dantonists now followed. Its leader was reproached with being a licentious, corruptible man, with leanings toward moderation for selfish and reactionary purposes.

Danton's faction had Desmoulins' newspaper behind it. Its columns were pointed and instructive. To illustrate the condition of France it frequently reproduced descriptions of ancient political situations. For example, in likening Robespierre to Nero, he quoted the following from Tacitus:

"Everything gave offense to the tyrant. Was a citizen popular? He was a rival to the prince and might excite civil war—he was suspected. Did he, on the contrary, shun popularity and keep at home? A life so private caused him to be observed—he was suspected. Was he rich? There was imminent danger lest the people be corrupted by his bounty—he was suspected. Was he poor? He must be strictly watched, because there is no one so alert as he who has nothing — he was suspected. Was he of grave and melancholy demeanor? The cause of his sad-

ness was the public prosperity—he was suspected. Did a citizen live merrily? It was because the prince was sick—he was suspected. Was he a philosopher, poet, or orator? He coveted more reputation than those who governed—he was suspected. Lastly, had he acquired reputation in war? He was only the more dangerous—he was suspected."

Such personal attacks, in the nature of things, could not long be borne by Robespierre, and Editor Desmoulins was expelled from the Jacobin Club. Then followed Barère's attack upon the faction in the Convention, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety.

On the 30th of March, 1794, Danton's arrest was discussed in the committee. When informed of the fact, he exclaimed with the roar of a lion, "They dare not!" Nevertheless, that very night, himself, Camille Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Lacroix, and the victorious General Westerman were taken from their homes and conducted to the Luxembourg. Danton was caged. In the beating of his imprisoned spirit against its iron bars, he "begged pardon of God for having been the means of establishing the Revolutionary Tribunal, but it was not instituted that it might become the scourge of humanity." In other words, it was not instituted to destroy its inventors.

An ineffectual effort was made by Legender to allow the arrested members a hearing before the Convention. The request was defeated by Robespierre. A few minutes later Saint Just appeared in the tribune and read the Report of Accusation against the Dantonists. The Convention decreed their transfer before the Revolutionary Tribunal. There they appeared proud and disdainful. Upon hearing his sentence, Danton exclaimed fiercely:

"We are sacrificed to further the ambition of a few cowardly brigands; but they will not long enjoy the fruits of their victory. *I drag Robespierre — Robespierre follows me!*"

The next day they were guillotined. Danton had no right to lay his fall at the door of Robespierre. By encouraging and using a Marat he prepared the way for a Robespierre. For creating the Revolutionary Tribunal and aiding in formulating the Law of Suspects, he deserved a thousand deaths.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

REGULATING RELIGION — ROBESPIERRE AND HIS IMMEDIATE FOLLOWERS EXECUTED—THE REIGN OF TERROR ENDED.

The destruction of the Dantonists left the Committee of Public Safety, with Robespierre at its head, to perfect its work of centralization, "or unity," without opposition.

Heretofore, the consummate actor, Robespierre, had posed as the embodiment of virtue and the unwavering champion of the common people. But he never had had a policy of his own, or was the advocate of a distinctive political system. Nor does he in his subsequent public career appear to have had the intention of organizing a party based upon practical reforms. His ambition took another direction. He aimed at founding a sect upon the philosophical system of Rousseau, of which he would become the modern prophet. His speeches, all carefully prepared, are the best index of the man. Full of glittering generalities concerning "civic virtues, probity and modesty," with frequent allusions to his own known merits, accompanied by fulsome praises "of the people," always vociferously appreciative in the galleries, they show him to have had no other end in view than self-elevation through the ordinary methods of a common demagogue. Now, that the clear-sighted, positive and ponderous Danton had been removed, and the witty, blistering pen of Demoulins was silenced in death, Robespierre could fearlessly step forward with his absurd proposals for further regulating the affairs of the Republic.

Consequently, on the 7th of May, after several weeks of seclusion and meditation, he appeared before the Con-

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vention with a laboriously prepared discourse, in which he appeared in his new role of social and religious reformer. He began by assuring his hearers that France had preceded Europe by a march of at least two thousand years, and that although existing among the other nations of the earth, she appeared to belong to another sphere. As a specimen, and to show what little common sense was necessary at the time to acquire oratorical renown, the following extract is taken from this remarkable speech:

"Yes, the delicious land which we inhabit, and which nature caresses with so much predilection, is made to be the domain of liberty and of happiness; and this people, at once so open to feeling and to generous pride, are born for glory and for virtue. O, my native country! If fortune had caused my birth in some region remote from thy shores, I would not the less have addressed constant prayers to Heaven in thy behalf, and would have wept over the recital of thy combat and thy virtues. My soul would have followed with restlesss ardor every change of this eventful Revolution. I would have envied the lot of thy natives—of thy Representatives. But I am myself a native of France, I am myself a Representative. Intoxicating rapture! O sublime people, receive the sacrifice of my entire being! Happy is he who is born in the midst of Thee. More happy he who can lay down his life for thy welfare!"

"When we read such miserable stuff," very pointedly remarks Sir Walter Scott, "and consider the crimes which such oratory occasioned, it reminds us of the opinion of a Mohammedan doctor, who assured Bruce that the Degial, or Anti-Christ, was to appear in the form of an ass, and that the multitudes were to follow him to hell, attracted by the music of his braying."

Robespierre then made some eulogistic remarks about his patron saint, the author of the "Social Contract,"

closing his address with a cowardly attack upon the memory of the noble Condorcet, whom terror had driven to suicide, and also upon his former associate, Danton, whom he had basely betrayed. This exhibition fully showed the ferocity and vindictiveness of the man's character.

Continuing, he thus admonishes the Convention:

"Repose, therefore, in tranquillity upon the immutable basis of justice. Beware of the intoxicating effect of success. Let us be terrible in reverses, but modest in victory, and let us plant joy and happiness in our midst through wisdom and morality!"

When it is considered that while this greatest of charlatans was thus enlarging upon the rapture of being born in France, and upon the joy her inhabitants must feel at being able "to dwell in his delicious midst," the guillotine was standing permanent in every large center of population in the land, and that not three squares from where he stood the victims of his cruelty, his fanaticism and his excessive ambition, were executed at the rate of fifty a day,—the degree of this man's mendacity may be conjectured.

It is almost superfluous to add that the speech was applauded by the Convention, since refusal to do so might have placed the name of the unenthusiastic upon the list of the suspects. It was, also, ordered printed in all modern languages, and 200,000 copies were actually distributed, strange as it may seem.

Robespierre's report of the Committee of Public Safety, declaring: "The French people recognizes a Supreme Being, and believes in the immortality of the soul," was thereupon sanctioned by a decree. It was further decreed that a number of festivals be held, instituted for the purpose of reminding the citizen of his duty to Divinity, and for the purpose of strengthening his own dignity. The first was to be devoted to the "Supreme Being;" the next to "Humanity," one to "Liberty and Equality,"

another to "Patriotism," another to "Justice," to "Truth," to "Modesty," to "Friendship," and last but not least, to "Glory."

The same evening Robespierre went to the Jacobin Club, where he received an ovation, and was invited to repeat his speech. The rabble became thoroughly crazed over the new prophet who was to pave the way for the millennium of France.

On the 5th of June, Robespierre was elected President of the Convention, in order that he might act as high priest of the great festival to the "Supreme Being," which had been fixed by the Assembly to take place on the 9th of the same month. On the appointed day, Paris having been notified by the Committee of Public Safety to put her best foot forward, the whole city, young maidens and matrons, old men and youths, all turned out in festival attire to participate in the solemn fête.

The windows of the houses the procession was to pass were profusely decorated with flowers and flags. Early in the morning Robespierre hastened to the Tuileries, where an immense concourse of people had assembled. Upon entering the Convention, the hero was received with wild acclamations. Thereupon the members filed out and took seats upon an amphitheatre erected in front of the Tuileries. Here Robespierre addressed the people again upon the subject of virtue and human wisdom, closing the ceremonies with the burlesque performance of setting fire to a monument representing Atheism, Ambition and Egotism. The procession was now formed, the Convention leading. Robespierre, in light nankin breeches, blue coat, a sash of the National colors tied around his waist, a hat surmounted by tri-colored feathers, and an immense bouquet of flowers, ears of wheat, and branches of fruit in his hand, at fifteen paces in front, opened the solemn march toward the Champ de Mars, where more oratory was indulged in. Robes-

pierre now stood apparently at the height of mortal ambition, religiously and politically the Czar of all the French.

"It is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock," some member of the Convention is said to have remarked, as the shades of night gathered over Paris, and the prophecy was soon to be fulfilled. The Mountain and the Committee of Public Safety were already beginning to show signs of discontent and division. Tallien, Barras, Legender and Fouché had antagonized Robespierre upon several occasions, and evidence was not wanting to show that he intended to rid himself of these, as he had done with Hébert and Danton. The majority of the Convention felt insecure, and what was most significant, the people themselves appeared to have grown weary of seeing and hearing of the daily increasing butcheries. They began to shut up their shops and windows during the time the carts of the condemned were passing. A new decree, conferring upon the Committee of Public Safety additional powers for more summary executions, had struck Paris with terror. Representatives as well as the people in the streets met each other with anxious glances, followed by whispered expressions of dismay and fear, and soon the high priest found his circle of intimates reduced to his two satellites Saint Just and Couthon. Conspiracy followed conspiracy. The majority of the Committee of Public Safety was against Robespierre, but having replaced Pache by his pliant instrument, Fleuriot, in the mayoralty, Hènriot, the commander of the troops being absolutely reliable, and the Jacobins devoted to him unto death, his position seemed impregnable, and, from the following communication by Hènriot to Fleuriot, dated July 4, 1794, it would seem that a concocted plan to strike a decisive blow at the Convention had then already been determined upon.

"Comrade. Thou wilt be satisfied with me and the manner in which I shall conduct myself; I could have

wished, the *secret of the operation* was confined to our two selves. Scoundrels should know nothing of it. Safety and Fraternity!"

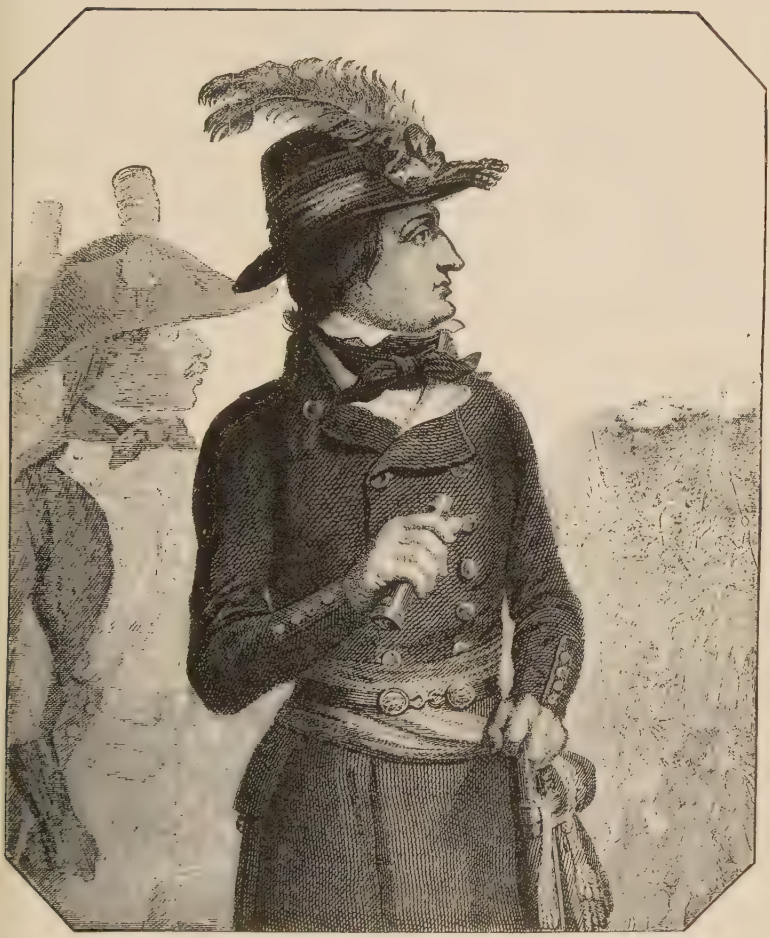
On the 22d of July, Robespierre thus prepared the Jacobins for action; adverting to the attacks he had been exposed to on the part of the Committee, he said: "No trace must remain of faction or of crime in any place whatever." He then advised them to proceed to the Convention as they had done on June 2nd, the year before, intimating that Hènriot was ready to uphold the "patriots" as he had upheld them on that day. After an absence of several weeks from the sittings of the Convention, at last on the 27th of July, he appeared in the Tribune reading a lengthy defense, in which he eulogized himself as usual, and denounced the Committees. The address and the recommendation "to *purify* the Committee of Public Safety," were received with studied silence, until the motion for printing the speech was made, when voices in opposition were heard. Still the proposition to print prevailed. But the assault upon the dictator must now be made or the Convention was lost. Cambon led the storming column. "It is time to speak the whole truth," said he boldly. "A single individual has paralyzed the Convention; this individual is Robespierre." Billaud-Varennes then jumped to his feet, and cried out: "The mask must he torn from whatever face it conceals!"

He was followed by half a dozen other Deputies, who had finally plucked up courage to face the tyrant.

In the evening Robespierre repeated his discourse at the club of the Jacobins, and urged them to be ready for action on the next day. The opposition had not been idle. The Dantonists of the Mountain had succeeded in obtaining a promise from the Right and the Centre to support them in their attack upon Robespierre, and, thus reinforced, they were ready for the impending conflict.

On the memorable 28th of July, 9th Thermidor, Robespierre appeared early in the Convention. He had hardly taken his seat, however, when Billaud Varennes rushed to a second attack, and in a fiery speech revealed the plot of the Jacobins to attack the Convention and proclaim Robespierre dictator. At this junction Tallien sprang to his feet exclaiming: "I perceive with pleasure that the conspirators are unmasked. Yesterday I was present at the session of the Jacobins, and saw the army of the new Cromwell mustering, and I armed myself with this poinard, (swinging it) to plunge it into his bosom, if the National Convention has not the firmness to decree his accusation." He asked for the arrest of Hènriot, which was almost unanimously voted. Billaud Varennes now demanded the accusation of Robespierre's accomplices, but Tallien again turned to the attack. In vain Robespierre attempts to reply; his voice was drowned in cries of "the tyrant;" fists are shaken in his face; he turns to the right, implores, supplicates, and cries with fear and agony; he rushes from one to the other, but is driven back with deafening yells, and, as a last effort he turns to President Thuriot, who persists in ringing his bell, and exclaims: "For the last time, President of assassins, wilt thou allow me to speak?" His features betrayed his desperation and his voice grew thick, as the terrible words rang in his ears: "The blood of Danton chokes you." His arrest is demanded and voted with loud exclamations of assent. Couthon, Lebas, Saint Just and the younger Robespierre share his fate. They are led from the hall, but are rescued by the Jacobins, who take them to the *Hotel de Ville.*

With the Commune, the control of the troops and the Jacobins still at the disposition of Robespierre, he might yet have crushed his enemies in the Convention, but he was not a man of action, and the most urgent



CARNOT.

remonstrances to show himself to the people, to call upon them to rise in insurrection received no response from him—the man was horror-stricken; in short, a coward.

He had temporized and hesitated until now it was too late. Still, but for an apparently insignificant incident, Robespierre might have come out of this conflict victorious. The cannoniers, who had been stationed with their pieces loaded and pointed upon the Convention, refused to apply the matches when commanded to do so by Hènriot. This mishap, for which the conspirators were not prepared, disconcerted their leaders and encouraged the Convention to assume the offensive. It outlawed Hènriot, and at midnight some of the members appeared in the crowd assembled before the Hotel de Ville, expecting the armed sections, and while reading the proclamation outlawing the Commune, the cry, *Vivre la Convention,* was raised. The crowd soon dispersed, and when the troops of the Convention drew up in front of the Hotel de Ville, they found the Place de Grève deserted. The caged terrorists, finding themselves abandoned and escape impossible, turned upon each other and upon themselves to end their miserable lives. Hènriot was set upon by Coffinhal and thrown out of the window. Robespierre himself received a pistol shot shattering his jaw; whether inflicted by himself or from some of the attacking party is not satisfactorily established. Lebas succeeded in blowing out his brains; Couthon stabbed himself, but not with sufficient force to end his life; Robespierre's brother threw himself from the third-story window, but survived his fall; Robespierre was placed upon a litter and carried to the Convention, and from there to the Conciergerie, where he was exposed to the invectives and curses of the public. The Convention having ordered them to be executed as outlaws without the preliminaries of a trial, Robespierre and twenty-one of his accomplices, among these his brother,

Couthon, Saint Just, Hènriot, and Mayor Fleuriot were guillotined the next day, the 29th of July, 1794, at five o'clock in the evening.

With Robespierre's death, the Reign of Terror may be said to have terminated. This circumstance alone should silence those of his panegyrists who claim that he was not its principal author. Whether or not he was chiefly responsible for the wholesale butcheries committed during the period of his ascendency, or whether he divided the responsibility with his associates, is of small historical consequence.

A subject of transcendent interest, however, is the phenomenon of a small number of absolutely inconsequential adventurers, so completely paralyzing the humane instincts and noble impulses of a brave and generous people as to make them appear the silent participants in these horrors.

The most eminent writers of the Revolution endeavor to explain this phenomenon on the plea of necessity. France, at that epoch, they say, was threatened with destruction by enemies of the Republic from within and by a powerful coalition of potentates from without, and, consequently, Jacobin *energy* (free use of the guillotine) was necessary to save France from destruction by both.

To admit the truth of this proposition is to question the love of liberty and patriotism of the French people—that is to say, it was not enthusiasm for their regenerated country, but the dread of the guillotine that moved them to fly to the threatened standard of the Republic; that their commanders were not men of military genius, inspired by the noble impulses of soldierly pride and ambition, and that the victories they had achieved were the result of fear created by "Jacobin energy." The truth of the matter, however, is that the greatest reverses of the Army, both on the frontier and in the Vendee, belong to

the periods of 1793 and 1794, when the generals were harrassed, interfered with and threatened with disgrace and death by presumptious and vindictive commissioners of the Revolutionary Committee, while almost all of her important successes were accomplished before and after this period.

The success of arming and equipping more than a million of men and of organizing them into armies, generally attributed to "Jacobin energy," belongs chiefly to one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, M. Carnot, the ancestor of the present chief executive of the French Republic. M. Carnot was opposed to Robespeirre's policy and repeatedly expressed his disgust at its excesses; all his time and energy, however, were devoted to the military administration, over which he had almost the exclusive control.

No, this plea of necessity can not be admitted, and, out of respect to the people of France, should not be made. Why seek the truth so far away when proof is close at hand? The Reign of Terror was the legitimate result of anarchy, which, on the 2nd of June, 1792, gained control of France, when the National Convention was overawed by a lawless mob, encouraged and supported by a military satrap. The floodgates of anarchy once opened, demagogism necessarily reigned supreme, while true patriotism and statesmanship were treated as the attributes of aristocrats and suspects. Of all the demagogues of that epoch, Robespierre was unquestionably the most astute, and, consequently, the most successful. Centralization had worked out its logical conclusion. It had rendered Jacobin usurpation possible, and by controlling the Jacobins, Robespierre controlled France.